

A HISTORY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS

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ANGELO S. RAPPOPORT



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A HISTORY OF
EUROPEAN NATIONS



FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY

BY
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"Mad Majesties," etc.*



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April 1912

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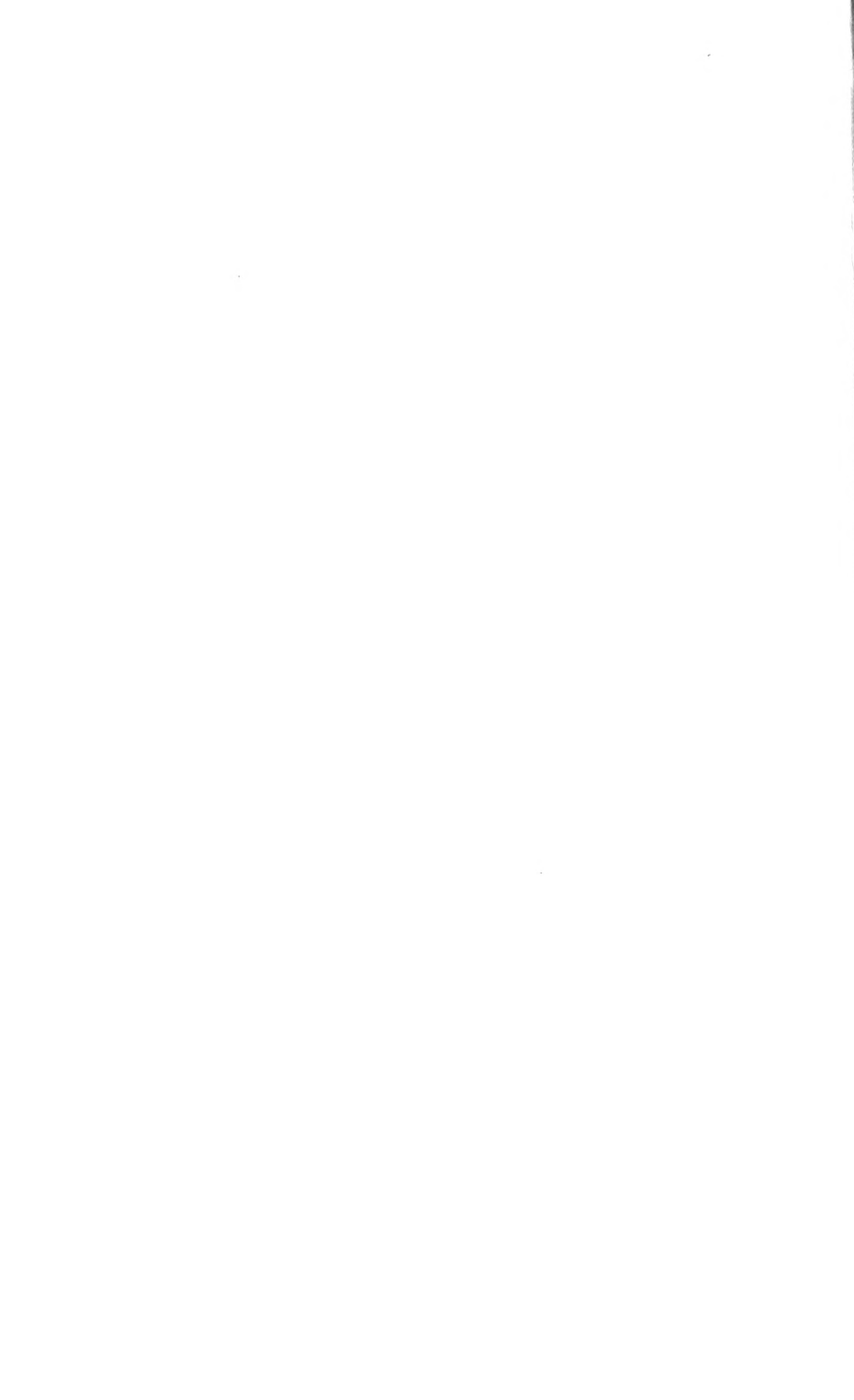
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PART I
GREECE



Introductory

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

GREECE occupies the most southern portion of the Balkan peninsula, situated between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. Greece proper, or Hellas, *i. e.* the land of the Hellenes or Greeks, covers an area of about 60,000 square miles not counting the islands. Nature herself divided the country into three parts: Northern, Middle and Southern Greece. The mountain chain of the Pindus divides Northern Greece into two parts: the Western, or Epirus, and the Eastern, or Thessaly. The Ceraunian mountains separate Thessaly from Macedonia and terminate in the north-east with the famous mountain of Olympus, "the seat of the cloud-gatherer Zeus or Jupiter," near the Ægean Sea; a little farther eastwards are situated Ossa and Pelion. South of Thessaly rises the Oeta mountain and close at its foot is the pass of Thermopylæ, famous for its hot springs and the battle which was fought in its vicinity. Middle Greece, or Hellas proper, contained the countries of Attica with its capital Athens; Bœotia, in which was situated the mountain Helicon; Phocis, with the mountain of Parnassus, at the foot of which was the town of Delphi with the famous oracle of Apollo; Doris between the Oeta and the Parnassus, Locris Ætolia and Acarnania. The Corinthian Isthmus separated Middle Greece from Southern Greece, or the Peloponnesus. In the midst of this peninsula was situated the country of Arcadia. East of Arcadia was Argolis with the towns of Argos and Mycenæ. South of Arcadia were Laconia and Messina, and north of Arcadia, along the Corinthian Gulf, was Achaia with the twelve towns, constituting the Achæan League. On the south of the Corinthian Isthmus was situated the famous town of Corinth and on the north that of Megara. The part of the Mediterranean situated between Greece and Asia Minor was known as the Ægean Sea. It was full of small islands, inhabited by a Greek population. The most famous were Eubœa, Paros, Delos, Naxos, and the sporadic islands such as Lesbos, Chios, Samos and Rhodes on the coasts of Asia Minor. In the south was the island of Crete, and more eastwards that of Cyprus.

Hellas enjoyed a most enviable climate and Herodotus praised it very highly, preferring it to that of India and Arabia. Herodotus mentions as the first inhabitants of Hellas the Pelasgi, who were afterwards swallowed up by the Hellenes. The latter are supposed to have come from Asia Minor and to have migrated through Thrace and Macedonia into Thessaly. They remained for a long time in the region near Olympus and then spread all over Hellas. They mixed with the Pelasgi and produced the so-called Mycenaean culture. Homer, however, knows little of the Pelasgi, except that they lived in the North of Greece and in Asia Minor and that a temple was consecrated to the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona in Epirus.

Chapter I

THE HEROIC AGE

The Heroic Age—The Pelasgi—The Oriental Immigrants—Myths and Legends—Native Heroes—Hercules—Theseus—The Seven against Thebes—The Argonautic Expedition—The Trojan War.

The Pelasgi—The Heroic Age—The Oriental Immigrants.

THE earliest records of Greek history are lost in the mist of legend and myth. A number of these legends have come down to us, and although they are far from being history it is necessary that the student should have a slight acquaintance with them before he starts the study of the real history of Greece.

The old Grecian legends mention the Pelasgi as the most ancient inhabitants of the country. They were a peaceful people and their culture bore a great resemblance to that of the Eastern nations. Oriental immigrants, who came from Asia and Egypt, are supposed to have brought with them to Greece the seeds of Eastern civilization and knowledge. Thus Cecrops is fabled to have come from Sais in Egypt; he was hospitably received in Attica by the king, whose daughter he subsequently married. Cecrops, who succeeded his father-in-law as ruler of the country, built a citadel, Cecropia, which afterwards developed into the town of Athens. It was this Egyptian who taught the rough inhabitants of the country the rudiments of civilization. Another immigrant was Cadmus, who hailed from Phœnicia, settled in Bœotia, and became in his turn ruler of the country. He is supposed to have built the citadel Cadmea and thus laid the foundations of the town of Thebes. Cadmus also is said to have taught the Greeks the art of writing by introducing the Phœnician alphabet.

Eight years after Cadmus, the Egyptian Danaus, accompanied by his fifty daughters and many followers, landed in Greece, where he built the citadel of Argos.

About one hundred and fifty years after Danaus the Phrygian Pelops, son of Tantalus, is said to have landed on the coast of Elis in the Peloponnesus. In Elis he married the daughter of the

king of Peia and succeeded the latter in the government of the country. Legend asserts that the name of the Peloponnesus, *i. e.* isle of Pelops, is derived from this Asiatic immigrant.

The Heroic Age—Myths and Legends—Native Heroes.—The Pelasgian period is followed by another, generally known as the Age of the Native Heroes. The Pelasgi were driven out or subjugated by the warlike Hellenes. The latter were divided into four tribes: the Ionians, who excelled in art and literature and whose most noted city was Athens; the Dorians, who were a warlike tribe and founded the city of Sparta; the Achæans and the Æolians.

Heroes and demigods formed the central figures round which Greek life turned, and a number of mythical tales relate the superhuman deeds of these heroes, whose descendants the Greeks claimed to be. The poetic legends relate many of these old deeds, the most noteworthy of which are the exploits of Hercules (Heracles), the voyage of the hero Theseus to Crete, the daring Argonautic expedition and the Trojan War.

Hercules (Heracles) is the most prominent hero of Greek mythology. He was the son of Jupiter (Zeus) and of Alcmena, a granddaughter of Perseus. In order to free himself from the power of the cruel tyrant Eurystheus, Hercules was compelled to accomplish twelve prodigious labours, after which he continued his life of heroic adventures. He performed many marvellous deeds, celebrated in Greek mythology. His sons and descendants, the Heraclidæ, were expelled from their native land and returned only after the Trojan War.

After Hercules, the most renowned hero of Greek legend is Theseus; a veil of romance has been woven over the story of his life. Theseus was the son of Ægeus, king of Athens, and when the latter left home he remained with his mother, the daughter of the king of Trœzene, a town in the country of Argolis. The father had left strict orders that the son was to join him in Athens as soon as he was able to remove a gigantic rock, under which was hidden a sword and a pair of sandals. In his sixteenth year Theseus executed this deed and started on his journey to Athens to meet his father. On his way he performed many heroic feats, killed the savage robbers, Periphetes, Sinnis and Procrustes, and cleared the country of wild beasts. In Athens he freed the subjects of his father from cruel bondage. The Athenians—so legend relates—had been conquered by the Cretans under their king Minos, and compelled to pay a yearly tribute. Every nine years the Athenians had to send seven youths and seven virgins to Crete, where they were devoured by a monster, half bull and half human being. Theseus travelled with the unfortunate victims to Crete, gained the love of Ariadne, daughter of King Minos, and with her assistance

killed the monster, known as the Minotaur, who dwelt in a labyrinth constructed by the famous Daedalus. Another legendary story is that of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, which has been utilized in some of the finest Greek dramas, such as *Œdipus Tyrannus*, by Sophocles, and *The Seven against Thebes*, by Æschylus. Laius, the great-grandson of Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, who succeeded his father, married Jocasta, who bore him a son, Œdipus; King Laius, having been informed by an oracle that he would be killed by his son, exposed the latter on the mount Cithæron. But the infant was saved by a shepherd; he was brought to King Polybus of Corinth, whose marriage the gods had not blessed with a child. Polybus brought the foundling up as his own son. Œdipus was now, in his turn, warned by an oracle that he would kill his father and marry his mother, and he, therefore, decided to leave Corinth. He went to Athens, where he met his real father, Laius, and, in the course of a dispute, killed him. He then freed Thebes from the Sphinx, a female monster who devoured a man every day until the riddles she had propounded should be solved. Œdipus solved the riddles and married his mother, the widowed queen Jocasta, who had offered the crown and her hand to whomsoever would free the city from the Sphinx. At last Œdipus, however, learned the truth, and, horror-stricken at his involuntary crimes, he put out his own eyes, and was exiled by his sons, only accompanied by his daughter, Antigone. He sought refuge in the grove of the Eumenides, who were supposed to avenge such horrible crimes.

The Argonautic Expedition.—It is an expedition of heroes, eager to gain glory and find rich spoil, such as the heroic tales of nations are wont to relate and to adorn with many extraordinary and even miraculous occurrences. In the grove of Ares in Colchis, on the shores of the Euxine, nailed to an oak-tree and watched by a dragon, was the golden fleece. It had been brought there by Phrixos, son of Athamos, who, to escape his stepmother Ino, had been carried, together with his sister Helle, on a ram with a golden fleece over the strait which is known as the Dardanelles. Helle fell into the sea, which was henceforth known as the Hellespont, but Phrixos arrived in Colchis, where he was hospitably received by King Aetes. He sacrificed the ram to Zeus and nailed up the golden fleece. This fleece became the goal of many expeditions of the warlike youth of Greece. Jason, prince of Thessaly, built a large vessel, known as the *Argo*, and, accompanied by many heroes, among others Hercules, Theseus, and the divine singer Orpheus, who could move stones and wild beasts with his music, sailed for the distant "Sunland." After an adventurous journey Jason arrived in Colchis. He had gained the love of the

enchantress Medea, the daughter of the king, and with her assistance the Greek hero obtained possession of the golden fleece and accompanied by Medea returned home. Many and wonderful were the adventures which the Argonauts met with on their return journey. They were pursued by the king of Colchis, and in order to delay the pursuers Medea killed her young brother Absyrtus and scattered the pieces of his body in the sea. The father stopped to gather the remains of his son's body and thus lost time, during which the Argonauts were able to escape. Jason is supposed to have abandoned Medea in Corinth, and the latter wrought revenge on her lover by killing her own and Jason's children. This legend is the basis of the drama *Medea* by Euripides.

The Trojan War.—The best-known and most celebrated event of the Greek heroic age is the Trojan War, which lasted ten years. The siege of Troy and the battles that took place in the last year form the subject of the famous heroic poem, the *Iliad*, supposed to be the work of the blind Greek singer, Homer. Troy, also known as Ilium (Ilion, Ilios), was situated in Asia Minor, on the shores of the Hellespont. Here King Priam reigned over a rich and strong city. One day the king of Troy sent an expedition, headed by his youngest son, Paris, to Greece. Paris, although hospitably received in the house of Menelaus, the Lacedæmonian king, carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus and the most beautiful woman in Greece. Such an affront and infringement of the laws of hospitality could not go unrevenge. Menelaus and his brother Agamemnon invited the princes of Greece to join them. The whole of Greece flew to arms, and from Crete and the south of the Peloponnesus to the northern frontier of Thessaly princes and warriors joined the expedition. Two years were spent in preparations, and at last a fleet, consisting of 1,186 vessels and manned by 100,000 warriors, sailed from the seaport of Aulis for the Asiatic coast. In Aulis Agamemnon devoted his daughter Iphigenia as a sacrifice to Artemis, in order to appease the wrath of this goddess. The mighty army embarked in the fleet and sailed across the Ægean Sea to the Asiatic shores.

The most famous among the Greek heroes were Agamemnon, the king of Mycenæ and the leader of the expedition, his brother Menelaus, Achilles, son of Peleus, and his friend Patroclus from Thessaly, Ajax, son of Oileus, and Ajax, the son of Telamon, the crafty Ulysses (Odysseus) from Ithaca, Diomedes from Argos, and the sage Nestor from Pylos. But these valiant men found a match in their Trojan opponents, especially in such heroes as Hector, the eldest son of Priam, and Æneas. Ten years the siege of Troy lasted, until the town was at last taken, thanks to a device of the crafty Ulysses.

Legend relates that a wooden horse was built by the Greeks and that about thirty Greek heroes hid in its spacious interior, whilst the other Greeks hastened to regain their ships and made for the open sea, as if giving up the siege. The next morning the Trojans were looking with amazement at the big wooden horse, when a Greek named Sinon was captured. He pretended that he had been ill-treated by his countrymen and that he now wished to revenge himself on them. Sinon informed the Trojans that the wooden structure had been built by order of the gods as an offering to Pallas Athene. The Trojans believed the story and dragged the wooden horse into the city, but as it had been built much bigger than the city gates, the anxious inhabitants pulled down part of the walls. In the night the Greek warriors came forth from their hiding-place and Troy was in their hands. Many of the inhabitants were killed or made prisoners by the Greeks. Old Priam and his sons were among the dead, his wife Hecuba and his daughter Cassandra were made prisoners and carried off as slaves, whilst another daughter, the beautiful Polyxena, was sacrificed on the grave of Achilles. Hector's wife Andromache was also carried away as a slave. The victors now returned home, but suffered many misfortunes on their return journey. Thus, Ulysses was tossed about on the sea by tempests and wandered for ten years before he reached home and saw again his faithful wife, Penelope, and his son, Telemachus. Penelope was wooed by many suitors during the absence of her husband, but she remained faithful to her absent lord. Menelaus, too, wandered about for a long time, whilst his brother Agamemnon was murdered on his arrival home by his faithless wife Clytemnestra and her lover Ægisthus. Electra and her brother Orestes, however, Agamemnon's children, avenged their father's death.

Chapter II

THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATIONS AND THE GREEK COLONIES

The Dorian Migration—The Return of the Heraclidæ—Codrus, King of Athens—The Greek Colonies—Colonies in Asia Minor.

ABOUT two generations after the Trojan War, great political revolutions are supposed to have taken place in Greece, which changed the aspect not only of Greece proper but of the Settlements along the Mediterranean coast. Many of the old States and Principalities were destroyed and new ones were founded in their place. New races of men drove out the old ones, who, expelled from their dominions, threw themselves upon other weaker tribes who were either subdued or wandered out and founded transmarine colonies, on the coasts of Asia Minor or on the shores of the Black Sea. Thus sixty years after the Trojan War the Thessalians, a warlike tribe of mountaineers, who had hitherto occupied the Epirus, took possession of the valleys and mountains on the Peneus and Pindus and gave a name to this district which henceforth was known as Thessaly. By far the most important invasion, however, was that of the Dorians. Pushed out by the Thessalians and Bœotians, the Dorians left their settlements at the foot of the Oeto and turning southwards conquered the Peloponnesus, which had hitherto been inhabited by the Ionians. The Dorian invaders are reported to have been led by the descendants of Hercules who—one hundred years before—had been exiled from their native land by Eurystheus. The Dorian invasion is therefore also known under the name of The Return of the Heraclidæ. Argolis, Laconia, Menenia and Corinth were gradually subdued by the warlike mountaineers. Only the district of Arcadia, the mountain region in the centre of the Peloponnesus, escaped the invasion and retained its former Pelasgian population. The Dorians thus became the dominant race in the peninsula. The Achæans fled from the conquering Dorians, turned to the north, and driving out the Ionians from their homes gave the name of Achaia to that region on the

southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf. The Dorians also invaded Attica and threatened Athens.

The city was, however, saved—as legend relates—by the heroic sacrifice of its king, Codrus. Codrus, a contemporary of King Saul, had learned that an oracle of the Delphian Apollo had predicted the Dorians a victory on condition that they did not molest the king of Athens. Codrus at once divested himself of his royal garments and in disguise, attended by a single companion, attacked the enemy. The heroic king was killed without being recognized. The Athenians now sent messengers and claimed the body of their king. On learning this the Dorians despaired of taking the town and raised the siege. Most of the old inhabitants of the Peloponnesus were, however, subdued by the invaders, and either submitted freely to the Dorians, and in that case retained their possessions but were forced to pay a tribute, were excluded from any participation in the government of the country and styled *Periœkoi*, or they were conquered by force of arms and reduced to the state of slaves, known as *Helots*. Those, however, who preferred exile and freedom to a life of submission left their native land and established colonies on the shores of Asia Minor.

The Greek Colonies.—Love of adventure and an overcrowded population had already been the cause of the colonization of Asia Minor by the Greeks. For the same reason soon after the Trojan War hosts of Greeks expatriated themselves and founded colonies in Italy and Sicily. A few generations later the migrations and invasions of the Thessalians and Dorians caused—as has just been related—new emigrations, and thousands of Greeks fled the country and swelled the number of the already existing colonies. In the course of time these settlements, thanks to the fruitful soil, the navigation, trade and diligence of the settlers, thrived and reached a high state of prosperity. They in their turn, founded new colonies which were constantly increased by the influx of emigrants from the motherland. Thus in the course of the next five centuries after the return of the Heraclidæ there arose a considerable number of Greek colonies, which occupied the greater part of the coasts of Southern Europe and Asia Minor, from Spain to the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea, the Pontus Euxinus, as well as the land of Barca westwards of Egypt, and most of the islands in the Mediterranean. About the year 600 B.C. these colonies numbered about two hundred and fifty. On the shores of the Bosphorus, Byzantium (Constantinople), Sinope and Trapezus had been established. On the island of Sicily, the greatest part of which was in the possession of the Greeks, opulent cities were planted, the finest being that of Syracuse. Cyrene was another wealthy city on the African coast, whilst Massilia (Marseilles) in South Gaul, near the

mouth of the Rhone, became a centre of civilization. Lower Italy was covered with Greek towns and became known as Great Greece (Magna Græcia). The most important towns here were Taras, or Tarentum, the luxurious Sybaris at the mouth of the river Crathis, and the ancient Cumæ, the parent city of Naples.

Chapter III

GREEK NATIONAL UNITY

Greek National Unity—The Amphictyonies—The Sacred Games—The Olympian Games
—Olympiads.

WHILST the Greek immigrants were finding a new and beautiful home in the East, the bloody feuds in the motherland continued for a considerable time and the separate states waged war, vying with each other for the predominant influence or hegemony. Such were Sparta, Athens and Thebes. Although the Greeks had been widely scattered, certain bonds still united not only the contending communities, but also the colonies into a single nation, which called itself Hellenes. Thanks to their innate gifts and capacity for civilization, the Hellenes reached a high degree of culture and of intellectual and artistic development which has scarcely been equalled since. Industry and energy brought about a state of general prosperity, and a beautiful climate, added to a simple life and a limited number of wants, developed a spirit of content, and fostered among the Greeks the joy in life afforded by art, science and literature. No wonder therefore that this prosperous, intellectual and gifted nation looked down upon all foreigners, less happily endowed by nature and fortune, as rough and uncivilized. Barbarian was the designation applied to all aliens and foreigners, all non-Greeks. Later on, when Greece in her turn had lost her independence and came under the sway of Rome, the name of barbarians was given to all nations who lacked Greek and Roman culture. Thus the Greeks of the motherland and the colonies formed one nation, or rather race, for we can scarcely speak of Greece, or Hellas, as one country with a capital and a central government. Greece consisted of many communities and small states, some of which were no larger than the Republic of San Marino. But the community of language and religion, the remembrance of the past and the renown of certain oracles welded the separate states and cities into one nation and preserved the unity of the Hellenic family. As bonds, which, above all others, united not only the various Greek States among

themselves but also helped to establish a connecting link between the motherland and the colonies, the following institutions—principally connected with religion and common to all Greeks—are usually mentioned: the Amphictyonic Council, the Delphian oracle, and above all, the sacred national games. The Amphictyonies, or leagues of neighbouring communities, bore no political character; they were simply associations, whose function consisted in superintending the celebration of religious rites and in defending some national sanctuary. Sometimes, however, they acted also as courts of arbitration, preventing wars from becoming too cruel. These associations were supposed to have been founded by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion. The most celebrated of the Amphictyonies, and known simply as “the Amphictyonic Council,” or the Amphictyony, was founded for the protection of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Twelve states sent their deputies to this league. They took an oath to defend the Temple of Apollo and its rich treasures, and in case of war never to level to the ground any city belonging to the Union, nor to cut off its water supply. The Temple of Apollo and the oracle at Delphi played a prominent part in Greek life. It was usually consulted on all important occasions by the heads of the Greek States. The temple was situated outside Delphi, near the spring Castalia. All who came to *Delphi* for *religious* purposes were required to purify themselves in this spring. A golden tripod was placed over an orifice in the ground from which there issued an intoxicating vapour, which was called the “inspiring breath of Apollo.” The Pythia, or priestess, seated on the tripod, inhaled the vapour, and “with raving mouth full of the god,” spoke words and uttered cries which were supposed to be the message of Apollo. The priest standing by her, wrote these words down and handed them to the inquirer. The answers of the Pythia were ambiguous and enigmatic, and could be construed in more than one sense.

Another bond uniting the Greek States were the sacred national games. These games were festive gatherings at which offerings were made in honour of the god near whose shrine they were celebrated. Such games were the Pythian, the Nemæan, and the Isthmian. But the most renowned were the Olympic games celebrated in the plain of Olympia in the country of Elis. They became a national festival of the whole of Greece and the colonies. Legend relates that these games had been instituted by Hercules, and that King Iphistos had given them a new stimulus. Certain it is that one hundred years after Iphistos, in 776 B.C., Corœbus of Elis was victor in the Olympic games, and that his name was recorded in a public register, and that henceforth this became a custom. The games were celebrated every fourth year, and from 776 Greek chronology

was reckoned after the games, each interval between two festivals being known as an Olympiad. In the plain of Olympia there was an olive grove, and in front of this grove stood one of the most celebrated temples dedicated to Jupiter. The games took place in the stadion and in the hippodrome, and consisted in wrestling, boxing, running, throwing the discus, and in chariot racing. The victor was presented with an olive branch from the sacred grove, and the presentation constituted a distinction reflecting honour not only upon the receiver, but upon his family and native town. Great poets such as Pindar sang the praises of the victor in immortal lines. Only freeborn Greeks were allowed to take part in the games, foreigners being admitted only as spectators. The judges were men of Elis, known as Hellenadikoi, or judges of the Hellenes. The prize was always the same, but he who had carried it off for the footrace was considered the principal victor, and the Olympiad was called after him. The name of the happy victor crowned on the last day of the national festival was announced amid the enthusiastic acclamation of the crowd, and soon his fame spread to the remotest regions where Greeks dwelt. But attention was also paid at some of these national gatherings to the works of poets, historians, and dramatic authors. Thus Herodotus, the father of history, is reported to have read parts of his historical work on such an occasion, and to have excited Thucydides to emulation. The games were thus a national institution and their influence made itself felt in more ways than one. They were instrumental in bringing together the people of the various Greek States, often engaged in bloody feuds, who put aside their weapons for a while during the Sacred sports. The Sacred games also helped to foster traffic and commerce, and the gatherings soon became vast fairs to which an enormous concourse of people flocked together from all parts of Greece.

Chapter IV

HISTORY OF SPARTA AND ATHENS

History of Sparta and Athens—Dorism and Ionism—Oligarchies—Sparta and Athens—
The Spartan Constitution—Lycurgus (Gerousia, Ephori)—The Constitution of Athens
—Solon—The tyrants Hippias and Hipparchus.

*The Age of the Nobles, the Laws of the Wise, and the Rule of the
Tyrants—Sparta and Athens.*

AS regards the political history of the Greek States during the period between the return of the Heraclidæ and the Persian Wars, it consisted chiefly in internal conflicts and in revolutions tending to upset the existing monarchic system and to establish a republican mode of government in its place. At first the Greek States were ruled by hereditary kings, invested with patriarchal power. They judged the nation, commanded the soldiers in times of war and brought the offerings to the gods in the name of the people. The king thus united in his person the offices and dignities of Supreme Judge, commander-in-chief, and High Priest. For was not his authority reputed of divine origin? But the gods themselves were not above law and custom, and the kings who derived their power and authority by the grace of the gods had in their turn to submit to the law. Although the royal power was at first hereditary there were certain qualities indispensable for the ruler, such as wisdom, personal strength, beauty or tall and imposing stature. The king stood at the head of the nobles, who, too, were distinguished not only by their wealth but also by their high birth and their courage. But the respect of the nobles for the kings gradually decreased, and the former sought to strengthen their own power and influence at the expense of royalty. In course of time the kings were done away with, only few of them remaining in the Greek States in the eighth century B.C. ; and towards the end of the seventh century B.C. the royal dignity was only in existence in ultra-conservative Sparta and Epirus. The monarchic system was everywhere replaced by republican constitutions. These constitutions greatly varied among themselves: some were aristocratic and others democratic in

their tendencies. But even the states of Greece with an aristocratic constitution showed a democratic basis. There were practically no free citizens who were merely subjects without any share in the government of the country. The citizens further never transferred their rights to deputies, or representatives, but exercised them themselves in the popular assemblies. For the Greeks the State was not a phase of the civil life, it was life itself. These two tendencies, the aristocratic and the democratic, mark the line of distinction between the two elements in the population, the Ionian and the Dorian. The former encouraged more and more an absolutely democratic rule with a perfect equality among all freemen, whilst the latter still preferred the aristocratic mode of government. From the kings the power and authority passed into the hands of a few noble families, and this rule is known as the Oligarchic system. The members of the Oligarchy alone possessed a knowledge of the law, or had received military training and general education, and it was thus easy for them to exclude the demos—the labouring and ignorant masses—from all participation in the government.

Sparta and Athens.—We have seen how the Dorian invaders took possession of the Peloponnesus. They established themselves in many villages and were known by the name of Lacedæmonians. Certain villages (five in number), in the course of time, united and formed one city-state, called Sparta, which became the stronghold of pure Dorians. For nearly two centuries preceding Lycurgus we know little of the history of Sparta. As the first sovereign of Sparta had left two sons, the city-state was ruled by two kings. This dual kingship, however, led to disputes and civil wars, which greatly weakened the state, and caused its decline. In about the year 850 B.C., however, a man arose who endeavoured to restore the ancient customs of Sparta, and thus laid the foundation of the greatness of his native town. This man was Lycurgus. It is to this famous lawgiver that the Spartan constitution is attributed. Lycurgus was the uncle of one of the kings. Banished from the town he visited many lands, studying the laws of other nations, and after an absence of eighteen years returned to Lacedæmon, where at the advice of the Delphian Apollo he made use of his experience to reform the state.

The Spartan Constitution—Lycurgus.—The aim of his laws was to make the Spartans a community of soldiers, and thus give them pre-eminence over other Greek States. The population was divided into three classes, those of the Spartans, the Perioækoi, and the Helots. The government was in the hands of the Spartans alone, the Perioækoi, although freemen, were excluded from it, whilst the Helots were simply serfs. Sparta retained its dual kingship, but the power of the kings was only nominal except in war,

when they commanded the army and enjoyed unlimited power. The council of the elders, Gerousia, consisting of twenty-eight members, was elected by the popular assembly in which every Spartan who had reached the age of thirty had a right to vote. Besides these authorities, there were five *ephors*, or overseers, whose function consisted in maintaining order and law, and whose power grew so strong that even the kings were under their control. The land was equally divided among the 9,000 Spartan families; each of the 50,000 families of the Pericœkoi also received a smaller portion of the land, whilst the Helots (the slaves) tilled the ground for their Spartan masters. Lycurgus's intention was to make his fellow-citizens a race of hardy fighters, able to stand pain without complaint. He therefore gave minute regulations as regards the education of the youth. When a male child was born, the Elders decided whether he was strong enough to be brought up, and in that case gave him back to his mother, or whether he should be exposed, if weakly, to die on Mount Taygetus. At the age of seven, the boys were taken from their mothers and educated by the State. At twenty the Spartan became a soldier and passed his life in camp. Their meals the Spartans took in common, fifteen dining at one table. The kings were not exempted from this regulation. The fare was very frugal, consisting of "black broth" and a jug of wine. The Spartan was to be a man of action but of few words, and the brevity of Spartan speech became proverbial, *laconic* being the term applied to it. Effeminacy was despised, the cultivation of feeling and imagination neglected. The Spartan fought valiantly in battle and never left his rank. He either conquered or died. Obedience to the laws was the first and foremost Spartan virtue. Commerce was greatly discouraged, and in order to prevent the citizens from acquiring the taste for luxury among other nations, travel was not permitted. Money was practically banished from ordinary life. After having promulgated these laws, Lycurgus made his fellow-citizens take an oath that they would never alter anything until he returned from his journeys. He then left for Crete, where he died. Under the laws of Lycurgus the Spartans became excellent warriors, and soon had occasion to show their efficiency in two wars against the Messenians. In the second Messenian War the discouraged Spartan soldiers were inflamed by the war-songs of the famous poet, Tyrtæus. The Messenians were subdued and reduced to the state of the Helots; those, however, who preferred exile to slavery fled to the island of Sicily, where they founded the city of Messina.

The Constitution of Athens—Solon.—Very different were the forms of government introduced in Athens. Athens was the chief city of Attica, which constituted the south-eastern corner of Middle

Greece. The country was inhabited by a mixed population, consisting of the ancient Pelasgi, Achæans and Æolians, but principally of the Ionians. Kings ruled at first over the lively Athenians. When Codrus had heroically sacrificed his life, the Athenians pretended that no one was worthy to succeed such a king. Monarchy was, therefore, abolished, and the office of Archon established. At first one of the nobles was elected for life to this dignity, but soon, in order to give the members of the nobility a chance of ruling, the period of the archonship was reduced to ten years, and the number of the archons increased to ten. The nobles alone were thus in possession of power, and availed themselves of it to oppress the demos. The latter, therefore, having no share in the government, demanded that the laws be written down. Pressed by the demos, the nobles at last yielded, and commissioned one of their number, Draco, to draw up a code of laws. Draco's laws were so severe that they were said to have been written in blood. The distress of the demos was very great, and bloody feuds were the result. Solon, a wise Athenian, at last came forward as a great reformer and gave his native city a code of laws, distinguished by their democratic tendency, their wisdom and humane spirit. To alleviate the distress of the people, Solon at first freed the poorer citizens from a portion of their debts, and ordained that henceforth no Athenian should be sold as a slave for debt. The chief authority was vested in the popular assembly, the Ecclesia, which elected the council of the four hundred and the judges. The population was divided into four classes¹ according to wealth, and the offices of members of the Areopagus, or High Court,² and the dignity of Archon remained the privilege of the nobility. Having drawn up his code of laws, Solon made the Athenians take an oath that they would not alter the constitution for the space of ten years, and then left for Asia and Egypt. It was on these travels that he is supposed to have met Croesus, king of Lydia, and held his famous conversation with him.

The Tyrannis.—The monarchy had by this time been abolished in almost all Greek States. We have seen, however, that it was not always succeeded by a republican government, but that in some places the rule passed into the hands of a minority, an oligarchy, who oppressed the people. Often one of these oligarchs, an ambitious noble, went over to the side of the people and was made the leader in the struggle of the demos against the oppressing nobles. He became chief of the populace, a demagogue, and succeeded in upsetting the rule of the aristocracy. Availing himself of his power, he then seized the

¹ Pentecosiomedimni, Hippeis, Zeugitæ, Thetes.

² The term Areopagus is derived from the fact that the council was accustomed to sit on the hill of Ares (Mars).

government and became sole ruler. Such usurpers the Greeks called tyrants ; they were not necessarily tyrants in the modern sense of the word. In fact the rule of many such tyrants was very benevolent and humane. Among the most famous tyrants were Periander of Corinth, Polycrates of Samos, and Pisistratus of Athens.

Pisistratus seized the reins of Athenian government during the life of Solon, and his rule was distinguished by benevolence and wisdom. At his death he bequeathed his office to his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who continued the rule inaugurated by their father. Hipparchus, however, was killed in a riot by two Greeks, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and Hippias then turned severe and cruel. His enemies availed themselves of the growing popular discontent and succeeded in expelling Hippias, who fled to the Persian King Darius. It was at Hippias's persuasion that the latter decided to make war upon Athens. After the expulsion of Hippias, the democratic party, led by Clisthenes, made several changes in the Solonian constitution, and divested it of all its aristocratic elements. One of the principal innovations of Clisthenes was the law of *Ostracism*,¹ by which any citizen who had incurred the displeasure or roused the suspicions of the people could be banished for a period of ten years. By this law the Greeks hoped to prevent the usurpation of power by any ambitious and powerful nobleman. Six thousand votes cast against the suspected citizen in the popular assembly ostracized or banished him without any trial.

¹ The term "ostracism" is derived from the word *ostraca*, or potsherds upon which the votes were written.

Chapter V

THE PERSIAN WARS

The Persian Wars—Revolt of the Asiatic Greeks—The Battle of Marathon—Aristides and Themistocles—Thermopylae, Salamis, Mycale—The Hegemony or Leadership of Athens—The Confederacy of Delos—The Age of Pericles—Aspasia.

AT the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Greece was called upon to defend her independence, and although the country was divided into small states, these all united in face of the threatening danger and heroically fought to avert it and to stem the foreign invasion. It was a fight between the East and the West. Asiatic despotism launched its mighty legions and threatened to destroy Greek culture, but enthusiasm and love of freedom triumphed over despotism and slavish submission. Cyrus, king of Persia, had subdued many of the Greek colonial cities on the coast of Asia Minor. Darius led an expedition against the Scythians and conquered Thrace, and there was every likelihood that the Persian armies would penetrate into the heart of Greece. But a great rebellion postponed the invasion of Greece by the Persians for ten years. The Ionian cities, and especially Miletus, revolted and took up arms to shake off the Persian yoke. The rebels were led by two Milesians, Aristagoras and Histæus. Sardis, the principal city in Asia Minor, was sacked; Athens sent help. But fortune soon changed; the enemy conquered and the revolt was quelled. Darius, the Persian king, was so enraged against the Athenians who had assisted the Ionian rebels that he swore vengeance. Every day a slave had to remind him of his oath and call out, "Master, remember the Athenians." He sent a great fleet under the command of his son-in-law, Mardonius, to invade Greece by way of Thrace, and Persian heralds visited the Greek cities demanding earth and water, the signs of submission. But the Persian fleet was destroyed at Athos, whilst the heralds were killed. In Athens and Sparta they were thrown into pits and told to fetch as much earth and water as they liked. Only a few islands surrendered. Darius dispatched another fleet under the command of Datis and Artaphernes which landed at Euboea, and Eretria fell into the hands of the Persians. But on the coast of Attica the Persian army suffered a defeat. On

the plains of Marathon a decisive battle was fought, and the Greeks, led by Miltiades, carried off a splendid victory. Among the killed on the battlefield was Hippias; Miltiades, however, the honoured victor of Marathon, soon fell into disfavour with his fellow-citizens. An expedition which he led against the island Paros having failed, he was condemned to pay the costs and to be cast into prison until the sum was collected. Miltiades died in prison, and his son, Cimon, paid the debt.

Aristides and Themistocles.—As soon as the Persian danger had been averted, new party struggles broke out in Athens. Two men, Aristides, surnamed the Just, and Themistocles, both eager to serve their country, became rivals for power and influence. Themistocles won popular esteem, and in order to rid himself of Aristides, who opposed any measure that was not approved by conscience, even if the glory of his native city was at stake, had him ostracized.

Themistocles then increased the Athenian fleet and turned the Piræus into a fortified harbour.

Thermopylæ, Salamis, Mycale.—Darius was in the meantime making preparations for a new invasion when death suddenly put an end to his enterprise. His plans, however, were taken up by his son, Xerxes. The latter quelled a revolt in Egypt and then turned his attention to Greece. With a vast army consisting of 1,700,000 men he crossed the Hellespont. A fleet of 1,200 vessels sailed along the coast. The whole of Greece rose to meet the coming attack. The soul of the heroic fighters was Themistocles. At the narrow pass of Thermopylæ the Persian legions were met by three hundred Spartans and a few thousand allies, who offered an heroic resistance. But a traitor, one Ephialtes, showed the Persians a secret footpath, and the Greeks were attacked in the rear. Leonidas and his fellow-citizens fought desperately and fell as heroes in the sacred battle for liberty. Bœotia was now subdued by the Persians and Athens levelled to the ground. But the Greeks carried off two victories by sea, one at the promontory of Artemision and the other at Salamis, and the Persian fleet was destroyed, whereupon Xerxes was compelled to effect a hasty retreat, leaving behind, however, an army of 300,000 men in Thessaly. This army too was soon destroyed, and the remainder driven across the Hellespont. The Greeks gained two other victories both on the same day, one at Platæa, under the Spartan Pausanias, and one at the promontory of Mycale, in Asia Minor. The Persian camp fell into the hands of the Greeks and a rich booty rewarded the valour of the gallant victors. The West had thus triumphed over the East, and love of freedom had been successful in its struggle against despotism and tyranny.

The Hegemony or Leadership of Athens.—As the later war was carried on by sea, the leadership of the Greek forces gradually passed from the hands of the Spartans into those of the Athenians. The treachery of the Spartan General Pausanias, who entered into secret negotiations with the king of Persia, greatly strengthened the influence of Athens. Pausanias, misled by ambition, sought to obtain the supreme power in Greece through the help of Persia. His plans, however, were discovered, and he was left to starve to death in a Greek temple in which he had taken refuge. And whilst Pausanias thus diminished the prestige of Sparta, whom the States of Greece had hitherto regarded as entitled to the position of leadership, such men as Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon and Pericles enhanced the power of Athens, so that she now became the leader of Greece. At the instigation of Themistocles, Athens, in spite of the opposition of Sparta, jealous of the growing power of her rival, erected a wall round the city and built the seaport of the Piræus. And when Themistocles, a statesman to whom Athens owed the foundation of her naval power and her historical greatness, but a very unscrupulous man, was ostracized for ten years, Aristides took his place and further confirmed the ascendancy of Athens. Themistocles fled to Persia, where the King Artaxerxes received him hospitably at his court. He is reported to have assigned the revenue of three cities in Asia Minor for the maintenance of his whilom enemy and present guest, and whilst Themistocles was dwelling in exile, Aristides, whose spirit of fairness and integrity gained him the unbounded confidence of Greece, founded the league or confederacy of Delos, by which the islands and seaports under the leadership of Athens pledged themselves to supply ships and money for the prosecution of the war. The treasury established at Delos was entrusted to Aristides. Gradually, however, the allies of this confederacy became tributaries of the Athenian Republic, whose power grew rapidly.

In the meantime Sparta suffered from a terrible earthquake, which destroyed the greater part of the city, to add to which trouble the Messenian Helots revolted. Cimon, who had contributed to the greatness of his native city, but who sympathized with the aristocratic constitution of Sparta, persuaded his fellow-citizens to send help to Sparta in her distress; but the distrustful Spartans, afraid that the forces sent might become allies of the Helots, dismissed the Athenian soldiers. This insult greatly annoyed the Athenians, who vented their wrath on Cimon. His enemies availed themselves of the opportunity and banished him from the city. Athens, however, continued to flourish, and, indeed, she had now reached a high degree of prosperity never afterwards equalled in the annals of Greek history.

The Age of Pericles.—This flourishing condition of affairs was

greatly due to the wisdom and supreme intelligence of one of the most influential Athenian citizens, Pericles. Sparta, meanwhile, grew more and more jealous of the influence and power of Athens, and strove to raise Thebes to the hegemony over the cities of Bœotia and to find a pretext for sending an army against Athens. In the war that followed between these rival States the Athenians subdued Megara and conquered Ægina, a rich island, but were defeated by the Spartans at Tanagra and Oinophyta, whereupon they speedily recalled Cimon from his exile. Athens could not spare one of her best generals. Pericles left the leadership of the further war against Persia in the hands of his rival, Cimon, whilst he himself applied his energies to internal politics, endeavouring to strengthen the position of Athens as the leading state in Greece. Cimon soon died, greatly honoured, on the island of Cyprus during a new expedition against Persia (449), and Pericles ruled Athens. After the death of Cimon the Athenian arms again suffered a check, and in the disastrous battle of Coronea they were defeated by the hostile forces. Pericles hastened to conclude a peace with Sparta. Two confederacies were henceforth to exist, one under the leadership of Sparta and the other recognizing the hegemony of Athens. The Hellenic cities were free to join whichever confederacy they chose. Athens retained the supremacy on sea, whilst Sparta contented herself with that on land. This truce is known as the Peace of Pericles. Although a soldier, Pericles was not a partisan of war, which he only considered as a necessary evil; he was a statesman *par excellence*, and a first-rate orator, exercising a preponderating influence over his fellow-citizens by virtue of his brilliant eloquence. His influence was so great that the period during which he ruled was styled "the age of Pericles." In the Periclean age of Athens her power abroad and her splendour at home rose to an unexampled height. Her ships fought valiantly in the Ægean Sea, and, making the islands tributaries, compelled them to pay large sums and thus enrich her treasury. At home the intellectual development of the citizens was greatly encouraged, and Athens became the capital of culture and civilization. All genius and talent were invited to Athens, and the house of Pericles, where the beautiful and cultured Aspasia of Miletus acted as hostess, became the centre of Greek learning and art and science.

Every Athenian citizen, thanks to the endeavours of Pericles, found the possibility of educating and distinguishing himself, and, indeed, to such a degree of development had the general culture attained that almost every Athenian was well fitted to occupy a public office, so that Pericles was safe to pass a law which decreed that the greater part of such offices were to be filled by lot.

Magnificent temples and other buildings were erected, such as the Parthenon and the Propylæa, greatly adding to the adornment of the city. Political eminence and intellectual culture raised Athens to a pinnacle of distinction which gained her not only the supremacy in Greece in her own day, but also the admiration of future ages, for she represented one of the most brilliant civilizations which have ever illumined the world.

Chapter VI

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

The Peloponnesian War—The Struggle for Supremacy—Aristocracy and Democracy—The Archidamian War—Pestilence at Athens—Death of Pericles—Offensive Policy of Athens—Demosthenes—The Peace of Nicias—The Battle of Mantinea—Alcibiades—The Sicilian Expedition—The Battles of Arginusæ and Ægospotami—The Rule of the Thirty Tyrants.

The Struggle for Supremacy—Aristocracy and Democracy.

THE ambition of Athens to be the leading power in Greece, and the fear and jealousy of the other States, especially of Sparta, made the continuation of the Peace of Pericles impossible. Sooner or later, the question had to be decided, whether aristocracy with Sparta at its head, or Democracy following in the wake of Athens, should be triumphant. Pericles knew that the question would have to be solved in the nearest future; and he was not deceived. It only required a slight pretext, an unimportant dispute to fan the fire of war into a flame, which spread, devastating Greece for twenty-seven years, and to transform the contest between Sparta and Athens into a pernicious civil war. Athens gave the pretext, although Pericles did his best to make the whole of Greece believe that the Peloponnesian League had taken the offensive. It happened thus: Epidamnus in Illyria, a colony of Corinth and of Corcyra, had expelled the aristocratic party. This led to a quarrel between Corcyra and Corinth. Corcyra supported the aristocrats, whilst Corinth, jealous of the mercantile prosperity of Corcyra, which possessed 120 vessels—sent help to the democrats in Epidamnus, and when the Corinthians were defeated in a sea-fight at the promontory of Leukimme, they began to make grand preparations for a continuation of the war. Corcyra now sought help from Athens. Thirty Athenian ships prevented the destruction of the Corcyraean fleet in the naval engagement off the Sybota Islands in 432. Corinth, whose influence in the Ægean Sea had thus been destroyed by Athens, her Asiatic commerce damaged and her colonial connections threatened, complained against Athens. On the other hand, when Potidæa, one of the cities of Chalcidice

and a colony of Corinth, supported by King Perdiccas of Macedonia, rose in revolt against Athens, Corinth sent a garrison of 2,000 men to assist the colony. Athens naturally was incensed. The Athenians blockaded the town, and the Corinthians complained to the Peloponnesian League that Athens had broken the peace, and their complaints were soon followed by those of the Dorian town Megara, which was being excluded from the seaports and markets of Attica. The Hellenic world was divided into two camps under the respective leadership of Athens and Sparta. On the side of Athens were Corcyra, Platæa, Akarnania and the sea-league, whilst Sparta counted among her allies the entire Peloponnesus (with the exception of Argos and Achæa), Megara, Bœotia, Phocis and Locris. Athens, however, had to fear the danger of seeing her allies abandon her and join Sparta. The power of Athens consisted in her fleet and the treasury of the temple, but Sparta could boast of a well-disciplined army. It was natural therefore that whilst Pericles endeavoured to limit the war to naval fights, Sparta preferred an encounter on land. During the first ten years of the war, the Athenians observed a defensive policy.

The Archidamian War.—In 431 a Spartan army under King Archidamus, after whom the first part of the war is styled the Archidamian, invaded Attica and devastated the country. In their distress, Pericles offered the rural population a refuge in Athens, and an Athenian fleet sailed off to the Peloponnesus and devastated the western coasts. In consequence, however, of the overcrowding of the city a pestilence broke out in Athens and carried off many thousands of the inhabitants, among them Pericles himself. His death was an irreparable loss to his native town. Athenian Democracy degenerated into the rule of demagogues. Cleon, a tanner, gained a preponderating influence and urged the continuation of the war. Party strifes between the partisans of war and the adherents of peace weakened the strength of Athens; the Athenian fleet, however, subdued Lesbos and Mytilene, which had broken away from Athens, forced them to surrender, and executed 1,000 of the inhabitants. Platæa, after an heroic resistance, had to surrender to the Spartan army. The town was levelled to the ground, and 200 Platæans and 25 Athenians were executed.

Offensive Policy of Athens—Demosthenes.—Athens now changed her policy from a defensive to an offensive one. The champions of war were Cleon and the heroic Demosthenes. The latter took possession of the Spartan seaport Pylos, and incited the Helots to revolt, whilst Cleon forced 400 Spartans on the island of Sphacteria to surrender. For the first time Spartan prisoners were seen in Athens. But the tide soon turned. Cleon's arrogance knew no bounds. He led an army against the Spartan general

Brasidas, but was defeated at Amphipolis in Thrace, and lost his life while fleeing from the enemy. Brasidas, too, had lost his life, and both opponents were thus deprived of their leaders. The champions of the policy of peace gained the upper hand, and Nicias and the Spartan king Pleistoanax concluded a truce for fifty years. This truce is known as the Peace of Nicias (or the rotten peace). The peace, however, was of short duration. Spartan allies—Corinth, Thebes, Megara, and Elis—resented this truce between Athens and Sparta. The conditions of the truce were that the opponents should give up their respective conquests and send home the prisoners. The discontented allies, however, refused to observe these conditions, and Athens consequently retained Pylos. The democratic party in Athens was resolved to deprive Sparta of the hegemony in the Peloponnesus. Democracy here had found an ardent champion in the person of the brilliant, handsome, eloquent and rich, but exceedingly imprudent and ambitious Alcibiades. He was a relation of Pericles and a disciple of Socrates. Through his influence the Athenians sent an army to assist the Corinthians against Sparta. Alcibiades' plan was to unite the democratic parties in Greece with Athens and destroy Sparta's power in the Peloponnesus. But aristocracy once more triumphed, and Sparta's victory in the battle of Mantinea shattered the plans of Alcibiades and the hopes of democracy.

The Sicilian Expedition.—Alcibiades, however, persuaded his fellow-citizens to send out a fleet to Sicily and to besiege Syracuse, which had imposed its rule over the other cities on the island. He thus hoped to extend the Attic rule over Sicily, and finally to gain for Athens the Peloponnesian hegemony. The riches of the island of Sicily were alluring to the Athenians, and the expedition was decided upon. Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus were appointed as commanders. But the enemies of Alcibiades and of democracy were not idle. Two months after the fleet had landed in Sicily, Alcibiades was recalled to Athens to stand a trial. He had been accused of religious crimes and of disrespect and contempt for the Eleusinian mysteries. He fled to Sparta and incited the people there to war against Athens. The Spartan general Gylippus was consequently sent to Sicily with 2,000 men. Thanks to the Peloponnesian support, Syracuse conquered. The Athenian fleet was destroyed; Lamachus fell on the battlefield; Demosthenes and Nicias were taken prisoners and executed on the market-place in Syracuse. The entire Athenian army was practically annihilated. Most of the soldiers were made prisoners and crowded in stone quarries near Syracuse, where many of them died. The survivors were sold as slaves. Athens put on mourning when the sad news of

the disaster arrived ; her allies broke away from her, and, to crown all trouble, the aristocratic party in Athens concluded a secret compact with Sparta. Decelea was occupied by a Spartan garrison ; the Ionian cities were stirred into revolt against Athens ; Miletus, Chios, and Lesbos separated themselves from the parent city. Sparta was, moreover, supported by Persia, to whom she abandoned the Asiatic portion of Greece. Athens was weakened financially, and her military prestige and power were gone. The Athenians, however, displayed unexpected resources. Alcibiades was recalled and triumphantly entered the town. The command of the fleet was again entrusted to him, and he was appointed *strategos* by land and sea, with unlimited power. For a moment it seemed as if the sun of fortune was again to shine on Athens, and that her former greatness was to be renewed. But the Spartan general Lysander crushed the last rising hopes of declining Athens. This gallant and clever leader had obtained the monetary assistance of Cyrus the Younger, the commander of the Persian troops on the western side of the Halys, and in the absence of Alcibiades he gained a victory over the latter's sub-lieutenant at Notion, near Ephesus. Alcibiades being accounted responsible for the loss of his subordinate, lost the command and retired to the Chersonese. The Athenians rallied once more, and gained a victory off the Arginusæ Islands, not far from Lesbos, but the Athenian leaders were no match for Lysander's diplomacy and military gifts and his ruthless energy. At Ægospotami, in the Hellespont, the latter carried off a decided victory, which definitely crushed the power of Athens. The fleet fell into Lysander's power, and the crew became his prisoners. Athens was now besieged by land and sea, and forced to surrender. Her supremacy by sea was destroyed ; the long walls and the fortifications in the Piræus were demolished ; the fugitives and exiles who were all partisans of Sparta were recalled ; Athens had to surrender her navy, with the exception of twelve vessels ; and finally, by entering into the Spartan Confederacy, recognize the hegemony of her rival.

The Rule of the Thirty Tyrants.—The greatness and splendour of Athens were gone, and democracy mourned in sackcloth and ashes, for Lysander now abolished the Athenian constitution and introduced an oligarchic government under the leadership of thirty aristocrats, known as the Thirty Tyrants. Thus Sparta had gained, with the assistance of the national enemy, Persia, the hegemony in Greece. We shall soon see whether she was able to uphold this supreme position for any length of time.

Chapter VII

SPARTAN HEGEMONY AND THE FALL OF GREECE

Spartan Hegemony—Death of Alcibiades—Thrasybulus—Socrates—The Retreat of the Ten Thousand—Battle of Cunaxa—Xenophon—Persian and Corinthian War—The Battles of Cnidus and Coronea—The Peace of Antalcidas—The Theban Hegemony—Pelopidas and Epaminondas—The Battle of Leuctra—The Arcadian League—The Battle of Mantinea.

The Spartan Hegemony.

THE Grecian States, which had shaken off the yoke of Athens, were not free ; they had only changed masters. Sparta's constitution had long deviated from the laws set by Lycurgus, and the equality of property and simplicity of life had given way to an oppressive spirit of inequality. The chief power and influence were in the hands of a few very rich families, who managed Spartan politics in their own interests. The Grecian States soon learned that Sparta was even a harder master than Athens had been. Oligarchic rule was everywhere introduced, and at the instigation of Lysander, Alcibiades, who was in Bithynia, was assassinated by order of the Persian Satrap Pharnabaces. He was still too dangerous a personality for the safety of the aristocratic government. In Athens the rule of the Thirty Tyrants was marked by bloody deeds, cruelties and banishments, of which their democratic opponents were the victims. The reign of terror at last exasperated the Athenians. Thebes had offered a refuge to the banished democrats. Here the exiles rallied under the guidance of Thrasybulus, and marched against Athens. The thirty were defeated, and Critias their chief lost his life. A general amnesty was declared, and a democratic government re-established. In vain, however, did the partisans of democracy hope to raise Athens to her former greatness. The long Peloponnesian War had not only destroyed the welfare and the material prosperity of the city-state, it had been instrumental also in deteriorating the morals of the Athenians, in weakening their sense of justice, and lessening their esteem for civil virtues, honesty and

integrity. Soon after the fall of the thirty and the declaration of an amnesty, the spirit of the amnesty was violated by the condemnation of Socrates, who had been the teacher of Critias. Socrates was accused of seducing the Athenian youth, and of teaching and introducing the knowledge of false gods. He was condemned to drink the cup of poison.

The Retreat of the Ten Thousand.—Persia was in the meantime gradually losing her power; frequent palace revolutions and the rule of favourites were weakening her strength. Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, who had supported the Spartans, now conceived the plan of wresting the Persian throne from his brother Artaxerxes II (Mnemon). He asked the Spartans to support him, and at the head of 100,000 Asiatics and a Greek army under the command of the Spartan Clearchus, Cyrus marched towards Persia. On the plain of Cunaxa, by the Euphrates, a few miles from Babylon, a battle was fought in which Cyrus lost his life. The Asiatics surrendered and went over to Artaxerxes, but the Greeks, whose leaders had been treacherously murdered by the Persians, retreated by way of Armenia and reached, in spite of unheard of and incredible hardships, the shores of the Black Sea. Their march is known as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand; they were led by Xenophon, who has described this march in his famous work, the *Anabasis*. The support lent by Sparta to Cyrus involved her in a new war with Persia.

Persian and Corinthian War.—Tissaphernes, the Persian, demanded the surrender of the Ionian cities. A former treaty with Sparta had practically granted this request to Persia. The Ionian cities now claimed the assistance of Sparta, the leader of Hellas. A war ensued. Agesilaus, the Spartan king, defeated the cavalry of Tissaphernes on the banks of the river Pactolus. To avenge himself for his defeat the Persian king incited the Athenians and Thebans to break away from Sparta. They were joined by Corinth and Argos, and Agesilaus was speedily recalled from Asia to fight the enemies in Greece. He abandoned the Persian campaign for the so-called Corinthian War. Sparta's star was on the wane. Persian money supported her enemies. At Cnidus the Spartan fleet was defeated by Perso-Phœnician vessels under the joint command of the Athenian Conon and the Persian Pharnabaces, and although Agesilaus had gained a victory at Coronea, Sparta's power was crushed. Athens and Persia restored the freedom of the Greek States and helped them to shake off the Spartan yoke. The walls of Athens were reconstructed with Persian money. Agesilaus saw the impossibility of fighting against the Greek States who had joined the national enemy, and were vying with each

other in securing his favour. The Spartans were compelled to negotiate and to consent to a peace. Antalcidas was sent to Susa and concluded the so-called King's Peace, by which the west coast of Asia Minor was given up to Persia. The Peace of Antalcidas also contained a clause by which all the Greek States were declared autonomous. By this means the Spartan ambassador hoped to prevent the rise of any other State to such power as could in the future prove dangerous to Sparta. Persia and Sparta guaranteed the treaty, and thus retained the power of interfering at any moment in the affairs of Greece. As the States belonging to the Peloponnesian Confederacy had nominally always been autonomous, Sparta retained her hegemony in the Peloponnesus, and only availed herself of the Antalcidian peace to weaken the power of the other States, while she everywhere supported oligarchic constitutions. But the manner in which Sparta carried out her policy in Thebes led to a crisis, and ultimately gained the latter town the hegemony in Greece.

The Theban Hegemony.—It happened thus: The Greek town of Olynthus in Macedonia had formed a small confederacy consisting of a few neighbouring cities over which it exercised some authority. Sparta interfered. Such an attitude was against the Peace of Antalcidas. The Olynthians refused to obey, and a Spartan army besieged the town and enforced submission. On his march through Bœotia the Spartan general lent a hand to the aristocratic party, occupied the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes, and overturned the democratic constitution. Thebes resented such a violent interference on the part of Sparta. The democratic exiles fled to Athens, but entertained correspondence with their friends in their native town.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas.—Led by Pelopidas they soon returned in disguise, surprised the oligarchic rulers at a banquet, killed the aristocrats, summoned the citizens to raise the banner of freedom and established a democratic government. The heads of the democratic party were Pelopidas and the patriotic Epaminondas, distinguished alike by his love of freedom and truth as by his superior wisdom and military talents. A war between Thebes and Sparta was the result. Athens, the old rival of Sparta, sided with Thebes. The Athenian generals, Chabrias and Timotheus, the son of Conon, defeated the Peloponnesian fleet, and Bœotia fell under the sway of Thebes. Athens, however, soon grew jealous of this new rival and joined Sparta. And when Epaminondas refused to dissolve the Bœotian League over which Thebes exercised the hegemony, the united arms of Sparta and Athens marched against the rebellious and obstinate city. A battle was fought at Leuctra in Bœotia, where Sparta suffered heavy losses—

and Spartan warriors, forgetful of Spartan laws, fled from the battlefield. Epaminondas now marched into the Peloponnesus and approached the Lacedæmonian capital. An enemy before the ancient walls of Sparta was an unheard-of event. For five centuries no army had approached Sparta. Women and children took part in the defence of the city, and Epaminondas retreated. He liberated the Messenians, however, and helped them to shake off the Spartan yoke which they had borne for three centuries. The power of Thebes increased. Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus several times, and Thebes began to dream of establishing a sea-power and a powerful fleet in the Ægean. Democracy was everywhere supported and triumphed over aristocracy. Pelopidas even interfered in the affairs of Thessaly and Macedonia, but he lost his life in a battle against the tyrant Alexander of Pheræ. In Arcadia, however, an anti-Theban confederacy with the capital Megalopolis had been formed. Epaminondas marched with an army to punish the rebels, and once more the Thebans carried off a victory at the battle of Mantinea, but lost their general. Epaminondas fell mortally wounded ; he waited, however, to withdraw the arrow which had pierced his breast, until news was brought to him that the victory was on the side of the Thebans. His death was at once the death-blow to the hegemony and to the supremacy of Thebes. Greece was exhausted and relied only on the superior talents of single leaders. She was split into small States, and this absence of union as well as of any large and powerful State could not but encourage foreign invasion. Macedonia was soon to avail herself of this state of affairs and to bring Greece under her sway.

Chapter VIII

HISTORY OF MACEDONIA

The Rise of Macedonia—Philip II—The Sacred War—War against the Locrians—The Battle of Chæronea—The Conquest of Corinth—Death of Philip of Macedonia.

The Rise of Macedonia—Philip II.

THE endeavour to unite the smaller Greek States into one large national commonwealth on the basis of a democratic constitution had failed. It was left to a non-Greek monarchic power to accomplish this task. Macedonia had hitherto played no part in Greece; indeed she had practically not even been considered as a Greek State, although the ruling class in this country, situated to the north of Greece, was a Hellenic race and the kings of Macedonia were allowed to take part in the Olympian games. Macedonia was ruled by kings who endeavoured to spread Greek learning and culture among the rough but valiant population. It was her King Philip II, son of Amyntas, who raised Macedonia at last to the name of a great power and gained for her the supremacy in Greece. Philip was at once a clever statesman, a brave and talented general and a generous ruler. He invented a new order of battle, the famous phalanx, making the line sixteen instead of eight men deep, and thus rendered his army efficient and capable of fighting against the Greek States, which were growing more and more effeminate, leaving the military defence to the care of hired troops. Philip was the first to open for Macedonia a free passage to the sea by the conquest of Amphipolis, Pydna and Potidæa. The rich mines of the Pangæus, where he founded the city of Philippi, yielded him a yearly income of 1,000 talents.

The Sacred War.—It was, however, the Sacred War which offered the king of Macedonia a final opportunity to interfere in Greek affairs and to carry out his plans. The Phocians were accused before the Amphictyonic Council of having cultivated some lands belonging to the temple of Delphi. Condemned to pay a heavy fine they refused to obey, and having taken possession of the treasures of Delphi hired

an army and attacked the Thebans, appointed by the Council to carry out the sentence. The Thebans now asked the Macedonian king for assistance, and the latter was only too glad to accept the invitation. He advanced upon Thessaly and annihilated the Phocian forces. The Phocians were expelled from the Amphictyonic Council and their two votes transferred to Philip. It was during Philip's fight against Olynthus that the famous Athenian orator, Demosthenes, appeared for the first time on the arena of Athenian politics (385-322). Demosthenes was, perhaps, the only Athenian who perceived the danger which threatened Greece in the person of the Macedonian king. He incited his fellow-citizens to oppose the latter's designs, and called their attention to the evil that was coming from the north. In his famous speeches, the *Philippics* (352), he denounced Peter and his plans, which aimed at crushing the independence of Greece. Athens and Thebes were at last roused, and when on the occasion of another sacred war against the Locrians, Philip invaded Middle Greece and took possession of Elatea, the key to Bœotia, Athens and Thebes concluded an alliance. In the famous battle of Chæronea, Greek and Macedonian forces measured their strength with one another. The freedom of Hellas was at stake. Philip won a brilliant victory and dealt the death-blow to Greek independence. Soon afterwards a National Congress convened at Corinth decided upon a Panhellenic war against the old national enemy, Persia, and Philip was appointed *generalissimo*, or commander-in-chief of the expedition. The Greek States had to furnish him with contingents of troops. In the midst, however, of his preparations for the great expedition, Philip was assassinated at Pella, where the nuptials of his daughter were being celebrated, by a Macedonian nobleman, named Pausanias. The murderer's hand is reported to have been armed by Philip's offended first wife Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.

Chapter IX

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Birth and Education—Alexander in Greece—Alexander in Syria—The Battle of Issus—The Siege of Tyre—Alexander in Egypt—The Battle of Gaugamela—Alexander in India—Further Conquests—The Battle of Hydaspes—Internal Organization—Death of Alexander.

ALEXANDER, the son of Philip and Olympias, now ascended the Macedonian throne. Nature had lavished her gifts upon this prince, and his father had given him one of the greatest teachers and philosophers of Greece and of the world as instructor in the person of Aristotle. By his great teacher Alexander was brought up in the culture and learning of Greece. He was brave and noble and even generous, although often subject to outbursts of passion and cruelty, which, however, he immediately afterwards regretted. Few in the history of the world have possessed his military genius, to which he added the wisdom of a statesman and a high intellect. Greece acknowledged him as the successor of his father and conferred upon him the office of generalissimo in the expedition against Persia.

Alexander in Greece.—For two years after his accession Alexander was busy fighting in Greece and Macedonia, subduing and punishing his enemies, who thought an opportunity had arisen for them to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Thebes revolted and was severely punished. The town was levelled to the ground, and the inhabitants carried away into slavery. But the pupil of Aristotle spared the temple and the house of the poet Pindar. The greatness of Thebes was now a thing of the past.

The Annihilation of the Persian Empire.—And now Alexander started on his memorable expedition against Persia. Again the East and the West met in arms. This time, however, it was the West which took the offensive, and the struggle was to end in the complete triumph of the West in the conquest of the East, and in the spread of Hellenism. The aged, tottering Persian Empire crumbled to pieces, and on its ruins Greece planted the

standard of her rule. Greek culture and civilization were carried to the East on the point of the sword by the Macedonian hero. On the river Granicus Alexander defeated the Persian army and became master of Asia Minor. The Greek towns received the new master enthusiastically. Miletus, Halicarnassus and Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, were conquered, and at the latter town Alexander cut with his sword the famous Gordian knot. There existed a royal chariot, reported to have belonged to the mythical king Midas, with a curiously twisted knot. An oracle had declared that whoever unfastened the knot would become ruler of Asia, and Alexander settled the matter by cutting the Gordian knot with his sword. He introduced democratic constitutions into the conquered *Greek* cities, while in the *non-Greek* districts in Asia Minor he separated the civil and the military power and entrusted them to separate governors.

Alexander in Syria.—Passing the Cilician mountains he then went to Tarsus, where the news reached him that Darius Codomannus was marching against him at the head of a vast army. Alexander turned back, fought the Persian king at Issus and won a complete victory. Darius fled into the interior of his realm, and the Persian camp fell into the hands of the victor. The booty was immense, and among the prisoners were the mother, wife and children of the unhappy Darius. Alexander, however, treated them with every possible consideration. He then conquered Phœnicia, took Tyre after a memorable siege which lasted seven months, and subdued Syria and Egypt.

Alexander in Egypt.—The latter country hated the Persian rule and was only too glad to greet the new master. At the mouth of the Nile Alexander founded a city, named after him Alexandria, which was destined to play an important part in the world's history. Alexandria became the meeting-place for East and West and was instrumental in spreading Hellenic culture on Eastern soil. To impress his Asiatic subjects Alexander then paid a visit to the widely renowned temple of Jupiter Ammon on the oasis of Siwah, where, at his wish, the priests declared him to be the son of Jupiter. He then returned to Asia, crossed the Euphrates and Tigris and gained another victory over Darius at Gaugamela, not far from Arbela, in the vicinity of the ruins of Nineveh. Babylon and the ancient Persian capitals, Susa and Persepolis, now opened their gates to the conqueror. He found immense wealth in these cities. In Persepolis the royal palaces were burnt down, partly in token of the destruction of the Persian Empire and partly to avenge the destruction of the Greek temples by the Persians. Alexander then pursued Darius who had fled to Media. The unhappy Persian monarch, however, was assassinated by the treacherous

Bessus, Satrap of Bactria. Alexander, who was now the undisputed ruler of Persia, avenged the death of his enemy by crucifying the murderer. Alexander soon recognized, however, that he could not subdue Asia by mere force ; he therefore took the Ionian nobility into his service and admitted them to his court. He erected new towns named after him Alexandria, which became centres for military operations and for the caravan-trade. He himself married the beautiful Bactrian Princess Roxana, "the pearl of the East," imitated the customs of the Persian kings, assumed their royal habit and crown, and surrounded himself with oriental magnificence. All this was done at first in order to conciliate his Eastern subjects and to rule Asia in an Asiatic manner ; but he soon took delight in this oriental display, and required from all Macedonians, as well as Persians, the most obsequious homage, prostrations and genuflexions, in the Eastern fashion. The Macedonian nobles who had been accustomed to consider the king as one of their own rank, a chief among equals, were highly dissatisfied at this conduct on the part of Alexander. Conspiracies and intrigues against Alexander's rule and life were the result. Whilst at Seistan he heard of a conspiracy in which his friend Philotes, the son of his tried general Parmenio, was implicated. Father and son were condemned to death.

Alexander's further Conquests.—Alexander's love of conquest was unbounded. He now conquered the Eastern provinces of Persia, among them Bactria and Sogdiana. After subduing some Turanian tribes on the Caspian, he took possession of the Hindu-Kush and descended into Bactria ; on the river Jaxartes he founded a new Alexandria. It was at Sogdiana that the Bactrian Princess Roxana became his prisoner and his wife. It was here also that in an outburst of wrath he murdered his friend Clitus, who dared to contradict him, although the latter had saved his life at the Granicus. In spite of the discontent of the Macedonians, Alexander now led his army into the plains of India. He conquered the Land of the Five Rivers (Punjaub), and defeated the brave and gallant King Porus in the famous battle on the Hydaspes. Alexander intended to proceed further and to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but at the banks of the fourth river Hyphasis his soldiers refused to follow him and he was reluctantly compelled to return to Persia. He founded several cities : Alexandria, Bucephala (after his charger Bucephalus), Nicæa (town of victory), in order to keep a hold on his conquests and to diffuse Greek civilization in the conquered lands. He then returned through the desert of Gedrosia (now Beluchistan), a march which cost him the greater part of his army, his soldiers falling victims to the hardships and the weather. His fleet had in the meantime sailed along the coast under the

command of Nearchus and now joined him in Carmania. Here he took the government again into his own hands.

Internal Organization.—During his absence many acts of violence had been committed, and the old rule of the Satraps had been restored. Alexander punished the faithless governors, sent home the veterans of his army laden with rich gifts, and now devoted himself to the organization of his vast empire, which stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus. He chose Babylon on the Euphrates as his capital, and here he began to carry out his plans. Europe and Asia should be welded into one mighty empire. The Asiatics and Europeans should become as one nation, the barriers dividing the races should be demolished, the barbarians Hellenized, instructed in the arts and civilization of Greece. In a word, the conquered and the victors should be amalgamated. For this purpose Alexander encouraged marriages between Persians and Macedonians. He himself married the eldest daughter of Darius and the youngest daughter of Artaxerxes Ochus, and thus united in his person the several claims to the dynasty of the Achæmenides. Whilst busying himself with the organization of his empire and the union of his subjects, he was still dreaming of enlarging his domains to the west. Arabia was to be added to his dominions, Carthage was to be subdued. But in the midst of his preparations death seized the great king and carried him off to an early grave after an illness that lasted only thirteen days. His health had been undermined by the great strain of his campaigns and even more by intemperance, by wild excesses and a riotous life in his splendid capital of Babylon. Alexander died in June 323 B.C., not yet thirty-three years of age. When asked on his deathbed to whom he left the empire, his answer is reported to have been, "To the worthiest."

Chapter X

THE DIADOCHOI, OR SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER

The Division of the Empire—The Battle of Ipsus—Syria and the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ—Egypt and the Kingdom of the Ptolemies—Macedonia and Greece.

ALEXANDER had left no heir capable of taking his place. The vast empire had been kept together by the wonderful personality of the conqueror, by his might, will and intellect. With his death it was bound to fall to pieces. Each of his generals strove to assume the title of regent, and to reign in the name of Alexander's son who was still a minor, and his imbecile brother. But quarrels between Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had given his signet ring, and Antigonus, who had possessed himself of the treasury at Susa, soon ensued. The result of the feuds was the assassination of all the members of the royal family and the division of the empire among these generals. Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, or taker of cities, were defeated in the battle of Ipsus. Antigonus lost his life and Demetrius fled. The vast empire of the conqueror was split up into three kingdoms: the Syrian under the Seleucidæ, the Egyptian under the Ptolemies, the Macedonian and Greek under the Antigonidæ. Seleucus Nicator (the victor), one of Alexander's generals, had succeeded in possessing himself of all the countries between Hellespalus and the Indus, and founded the empire of the Seleucidæ. He erected the renowned and magnificent city of Antioch on the Orontes, and Seleucia on the Tigris. He spread Greek culture and civilization throughout Asia Minor. Among his successors, the most famous was Antiochus III, who in his war against the Romans suffered a complete defeat at the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. The Syrian kingdom finally became a province of the Roman Republic in 63 B.C.

The Græco-Egyptian kingdom was established by Ptolemy I (Soter), son of Lagos. His descendants, known as the Ptolemies, ruled over Egypt for three centuries. Under the rule of the Ptolemies Alexandria gained a world-wide reputation. It became not only

the centre of commerce, where East and West met and mingled, but flourished as a centre of learning, art and science. Ptolemy I built the lighthouse of Pharos, at the entrance of the harbour of Alexandria, founded the famous museum and the Alexandrian library. Under his successors, Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) and Ptolemy III (Energetes), Egypt reached the summit of its fame, politically and intellectually. The last ruler of the house of the Ptolemies was the famous Cleopatra, whose story will be told in the history of Rome.

Macedonia and Greece.—Greece could never reconcile herself to the Macedonian yoke, and even during the reign of Alexander, she made an effort from time to time to shake it off. Thus in 339 B.C., Agis, king of Sparta, made such an attempt, but the heroic king and his followers were defeated by Antipater on the field of Ægalopolis, Agis paying for his attempt with his life. After the death of Alexander, the Greek States again rebelled against Macedonian rule, and carried on the Lamian War (323–322) which ended in the victory of Antipater. Athens had to submit, and Demosthenes, the leader of the democratic party, was compelled to leave the city. Greece made a final effort in the middle of the third century, when the Achæan League under the leadership of Aratus of Sicyon attempted to gain the supreme power over the Peloponnesus. But the old jealousy existing between Athens and Sparta led to dissensions and accelerated the downfall of Greece. Rome had stepped into the arena of history. Availing herself of the internal state of Hellas, Rome succeeded in taking possession of the country without any great effort. The city of Corinth was taken in 146 B.C., and Greece became a portion of the Roman Empire. Macedonia, which during the Second Punic War incurred the anger of Rome, was conquered by Metellus, and made a Roman province in 148 B.C.

PART II

ROMAN HISTORY

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Rome under the Government of Kings—How Rome was Built—Romulus and Remus—The Senate—The Popular Assemblies—The Legendary Kings—Division of the People—Classes of Society—The Expulsion of the Kings.

ACCORDING to tradition Rome was founded in the following manner : After the destruction of Troy, Æneas, the son of Anchises, fled to Italy, where he married Lavinia, daughter of the King Latinus. In honour of his bride the Trojan exile founded a city which he called Lavinium. And when this city was overcrowded, his son Julius founded a new city which he named Alba Longa. Numitor, one of the descendants of Æneas and king of Alba Longa, was deprived of his throne by his brother Æmulus, who also placed his niece Rhea Silvia among the sacred virgins. As such she was compelled to remain unmarried, and the uncle had therefore, he thought, no need to fear her offspring. But to the dismay of Æmulus, Rhea Silvia gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus, pretending that the god Mars was the father of the boys. The infuriated uncle, however, ordered the children to be exposed on the banks of the Tiber and the mother to be burned alive. Romulus and Remus were, however, supposed to have been suckled by a she-wolf, and were afterwards discovered by a shepherd named Faustulus and brought up by the latter's wife, Acca Larentia. When they reached man's estate and learned the story of their birth the two boys killed their uncle and placed their grandfather on the throne of Alba Longa. With the permission of King Numitor, Romulus and Remus now founded a town on the Palatine hill on the left hand of the Tiber which they called Rome. Before the walls of the city were finished Romulus is said to have killed his brother Remus in a quarrel. In order to attract more inhabitants Romulus declared his little town a place of refuge for fugitives—and criminals and deserting slaves flocked within the walls of Rome. But the male population had no wives, and the neighbouring people would not marry their daughters to criminals and fugitive slaves. Romulus

therefore invited the Sabines to military games, and during the festivities every Roman seized and carried off into the city a Sabine virgin and made her his wife. Great was the wrath and indignation of the parents. War was declared. But when the two armies were already facing each other ready for fight, the abducted virgins rushed between them and implored their fathers and husbands to make peace. The women had yielded to the inevitable. A treaty was now concluded, and the two nations were united under a dual kingdom ruled by Romulus and the Sabine king Tatius. It was also decided that a Latin and a Sabine should henceforth be elected alternatively. Romulus instituted the Senate and divided the people into thirty *curiæ*. The entire population consisted of the full citizens or patricians, half citizens or plebeians, and clients. Romulus subdued the neighbouring Etruscan peoples, the *Fidenatæ* and the *Vegentes*. During a thunderstorm Romulus disappeared and is supposed to have gone straight to heaven, and the people honoured his memory under the name of *Quirinus*, and bestowed divine honours upon him.

The Legendary Kings.—The Roman kings were not hereditary, and as pointed out above, were to be chosen alternatively from the Sabines and Latins. Seven kings are mentioned between the disappearance of Romulus and the establishment of the Roman Republic. Romulus was succeeded by the wise Sabine Numa Pompilius, who gave laws and religious institutions to the young nation. He built temples and especially one dedicated to Janus Bifrons. When the gates of this temple were open it denoted war, and when they were closed it was a sign that Rome was at peace with her neighbours. Numa Pompilius attributed his institutions and laws to the counsels of the Nymph Egeria, whom he visited in a sacred grove south of Rome. He was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, who extended the domains of the city, which now occupied seven hills. Under Tullus Hostilius a war broke out with Alba Longa. The contest was decided by the combat between three brothers chosen from the opposing armies. On the Roman side were the Horatii, whilst the Curiatii fought for Alba Longa. The Roman champions were victorious and Alba Longa fell into the hands of Rome. The city was destroyed and the inhabitants transplanted to the mount Callius in Rome. Ancus Martius conquered many Latin localities, settling the inhabitants partly in the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine hills, partly on the Aventine hill itself. He also built the fort of Ostia.

The three last kings were Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and Tarquinius Superbus. They were of Etruscan origin and embellished Rome with many fine buildings. Tarquinius Priscus

laid the foundations of the famous Capitol on the Capitoline hill ; it was completed by his son, Tarquinius Superbus. He also constructed the Cloaca Maxima (the great sewer) by means of which the marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained, the Circus Maximus between the Aventine and the Palatine hills, and the Forum. Tarquinius Priscus was assassinated by the sons of his predecessor and was succeeded by his adoptive son, Servius Tullius. This king effected a great change in the Roman constitution.

Divisions of the People—Classes of Society.—He divided the entire population into five classes according to the amount of property they possessed. A sixth class consisted of the poorest citizens, proletarians. Servius Tullius shared the fate of his predecessor ; he was assassinated by his son-in-law Tarquinius Superbus, the son of Tarquinius Priscus. The boundaries of Rome were enlarged by this king, and he among other things had collected the ancient oracles, called the Sibylline books. But Tarquinius was after all a bloodthirsty tyrant ; he surrounded himself with a guard, put to death many senators, and disregarded all law and justice. And when at last his son Sextus had outraged the virtuous Lucretia, who, in consequence of the insult offered to her, committed suicide, a rebellion, headed by Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of the victim, broke out against the royal house. The king and his family were expelled from the city and patricians and plebeians decided to tolerate no kings in the future.

Chapter II

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The Consuls—Horatius Cocles—Mutius Scævola—The Struggle between Patricians and Plebeians for Supremacy of Power—Succession of the Plebeians—Menenius Agrippa—The Tribunes—Coriolanus—Cincinnatus—The Agrarian Laws—The Tables of Laws—The Decemvirs—The Sacking of Rome by the Gauls—Samnite Wars.

AFTER the expulsion of the kings the executive power was given to two magistrates called consuls, elected by the *comitia centuriata* for one year, and who, with the exception of certain priestly functions, united all the power of the kings. In times of public danger, such as war, a dictator was appointed who exercised a supreme power for six months. This was done in order to avoid the difficulties and drawbacks of a divided command. The young Republic had, however, at first a hard struggle without and within. Tarquinius had fled to the Etruscan king, Porsenna, who threatened Rome. The city was saved by the bravery of Horatius Cocles, who held the bridge over the river against the hostile army until it had been destroyed by his fellow-citizens. Legend relates that Mutius Scævola, having stolen into the enemy's camp with the intention of killing the King Porsenna, was caught. But no threats would avail to make this Roman betray his country, and he greatly impressed the king by calmly putting his hand in the burning fire of an altar, thus proving to the king how little the Roman valued his life and how little he feared death or pain. The enemy, struck by this courage, made peace with the Romans.

Mutius was hereafter nicknamed "Scævola," or "the left-handed." The Latin towns had now also risen in revolt against Rome, and the latter lost many of her possessions. By far the greatest trouble, however, arose from the dissensions and the struggle which were carried on between the classes, the patricians and plebeians, within the walls of the city.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS FOR SUPREMACY OF POWER

Success of the Plebeians.—The plebeians were politically and financially in a bad plight. The Roman Republic possessed large tracts

of uncultivated land which was called the "ager publicus," but only patricians had a right to farm it. On the other hand, the many wars in which Rome was involved had reduced the plebeians and impoverished them; they were consequently forced to borrow from the rich patricians, who could sell their debtors as slaves or even kill them. Politically the plebeians had no share in the government, and their demands for agrarian laws remained unheeded. The Consul Cassius, who attempted to move the first agrarian law, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock. Such a state of affairs at last became utterly intolerable. The plebeians, therefore, on the verge of despair, decided to leave the city, and to wander out and found a new home. They carried out their decision, and 18,000 of them left Rome and migrated to the so-called Sacred Mount, where they began making preparations for the erection of new homes. The patricians were in dismay. The help of the plebeians was required in the wars against the neighbouring tribes, and concessions had to be made. A deputation headed by Menenius Agrippa was sent to the Sacred Mount, and the plebeians were prevailed upon to return. In his persuasions Menenius Agrippa made use of the famous fable of the quarrel between the belly and the members. The plebeians returned, but not before important concessions had been granted them. All old debts were cancelled, and the debtors who were employed as slaves were set free. But the most important concession obtained by the plebeians was the institution of the popular tribunes, *tribuni plebis*, whose power and influence played an important part and exercised a far-reaching influence upon Roman history. The tribunes, whose number in the course of years rose from two to ten, were not magistrates in the strict sense of the word. They were simply the representatives of the people, the plebs, and looked after the interests of the commons. They were elected plebeians from their own class. The tribune could intercede against any Roman magistrate, even the consuls, and could make any decision of the latter null and void. He could punish the disobedient magistrate, whilst his own person was inviolable. By solemn vows before the gods the patricians had pledged themselves to consider the personality of the tribune sacrosanct. Any one who touched or insulted a tribune became an outlaw.

The power of the tribunes can thus be understood. It was natural, however, that the patricians should make efforts to limit the power of the tribunes. A famine broke out in Rome, and large quantities of corn had been sent by Gelion, king of Syracuse, for distribution among the famishing poor. When the grain arrived from Sicily, Maxius Coriolanus made the suggestion that no grain should be given to the people until they had dismissed their tribunes. The people objected, the tribunes interfered, and Coriolanus had to leave the city. He fled

to the Volscians, and led their army against Rome. A deputation of Roman matrons, headed by his mother and wife, at last prevailed upon Coriolanus to withdraw from Roman territory.

"Mother," he exclaimed, "you have saved Rome, but lost your son." He was killed by the enraged Volscians.

Cincinnatus Dictator.—In the meantime Rome had to continue her wars against the neighbouring tribes, such as the Veiians, the Volscians and the Æquians. At Mount Ægidus the whole Roman army would have been captured had not the Senate quickly appointed Cincinnatus as Dictator. This noble Roman was living in reduced circumstances, and compelled to till his small estate with his own hands. When the summons of the Senate reached him, he at once left the plough, proceeded at the head of the Roman youth to the arena of war, and succeeded in completely crushing the enemy. The plebeians in the meantime continued their struggle for equality. The tribunes demanded agrarian laws for the plebs and a share in public office. Another of their requests was that a written code of laws should be drawn up, as thereby they would be able easily to check the arbitrary judgments of the magistrates. The patricians opposed these demands, but in 462 the tribune Terentilius Arsa succeeded in passing a law in the *comitia tributa* by which the compilation of a code of laws was decided upon.

The Tables of Laws—The Decemvirs.—Three men were instantly entrusted with a mission to Athens and other Greek cities in Italy with the purpose of studying the Solonian and other constitutions. On their return an assembly of ten magistrates was commissioned to work out a code of laws. This commission was known as the Decemvirs, and whilst they were engaged in their labours they superseded the consuls and tribunes in the exercise of the government, and were invested with the supreme power of the State. When a year had elapsed, the people, satisfied with their work, allowed the decemvirate to retain their power. But in the second year this body, presided over by Appius Claudius, exceeded their powers and roused the popular discontent. It was especially Appius Claudius who provoked the general revolt by his licentious conduct. He had conceived a passion for a beautiful girl, Virginia, and made one of his clients claim her as his slave. By his own decision he put Virginia in the power of his client. But scarcely had the father of the poor victim heard the judgment of the decemvirs when he rushed forward and plunged a knife in his daughter's breast. The populace arose, boiling with rage and indignation, against the decemvirs, who were expelled from the city. Appius Claudius was thrust into prison, where he committed suicide. The old system of government was again restored, but the practical result of the decemvirate were the twelve tables containing

the written code of laws. These laws, which became the basis of the Roman legislation, were engraved on twelve tables of brass and fastened to the Rostra, or orators' platform, in the Forum.

Military Tribunes and Censors.—Although Rome had now written laws, and the plebeians were practically safeguarded against the arbitrariness of the consuls, the struggle for equality still continued. The tribunes demanded the admission of the plebeians to the consulship. The Senate had already accepted the laws of the tribune Gaius Canuleius, according to which marriages could be contracted between patricians and plebeians; but the proud patricians would hear nothing of a consul from among the commons. The struggle was a hard one, and at last it was arranged that in place of the consuls, military tribunes, three or four with consular power, should be elected. The patricians, however, succeeded later in taking away some of their functions from the military tribunes and transforming them to newly-created magistrates, called censors. These officers had to look after the census, and assigned to every citizen his place in the different classes. They also watched over the public morals.

The Roman war against the neighbouring nations in the meantime continued. A paid standing army had been introduced, and the Roman arms were crowned with success. After a siege which lasted ten years, the town of Veii and many Etruscan cities were captured.

The Sacking of Rome by the Gauls.—But the conquests made by Rome were suddenly threatened, and the city itself was in jeopardy. The Senonian Gauls had crossed the Alps and settled in Italy. They besieged Clusium in Etruria, and this city sent to Rome for assistance. A war consequently broke out between the Gauls and the Romans, and the latter suffered a crushing defeat on the river Allia. Rome was in danger, and the citizens fled to places of safety. The Gauls, under Brennus, burned and sacked the towns, and laid siege to the Capitol. Here a small garrison under the command of Marcus Manlius resisted for seven months. During one dark night the Gauls succeeded in climbing the walls, when the Roman soldiers were suddenly awakened by the cackling of the geese sacred to Juno. The Capitol was saved. At last the Gauls consented to raise the siege for the sum of 1,000 pounds of gold. Whilst the gold was being weighed, Brennus, the commander of the Gauls, is reported to have thrown his sword into the scales, exclaiming, "*Vae victis!*" After the departure of the enemy, the plebeians refused to rebuild the city, which was a heap of ruins, and prepared to retire to Veii, but they were prevailed upon by the richer classes to stay on the old site, and soon a new Rome rose out of the ruins. Manlius, the saviour of the Capitol, and hence surnamed Capitolineus, now became

the champion of the plebeians, but he was accused by the patricians of ambitious designs, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock. This conduct on the part of the patricians stimulated the plebeians in their struggle for equality. Two tribunes, Gaius Licinius Stolo and Lucius Sextus Lateranus, proposed the following laws, known as the—

Licinian Laws.—1. The interest paid on debts should be deducted from the capital, and the remainder paid in three equal portions within three years. 2. No citizen should possess more than 500 *jugera* of public land. 3. The military tribunes should be done away with, and one consul should always be elected from among the plebeians.

For ten years these two tribunes waged a fierce struggle against the patricians, who vigorously opposed these laws. The plebeians at last carried off the victory, and in 367 B.C. Lucius Sextus Lateranus was the first plebeian to be elected consul.

The patricians, however, transferred a portion of the highest political powers, namely, that of jurisdiction, to a newly-created magistrate, the *prætor*. The *prætor* was, of course, a patrician. The *Curule Ædiles*, who were patricians, were also added to the already existing *ædiles plebis*. The plebeians, however, were gradually gaining the victory over the patricians. The struggle between the two classes was coming to an end. The plebeians were admitted to one office after another. In 366 they gained access to the *curulian ædileship*; in 356 to the *dictatorship*; in 351 to the *ensorship*; in 337 to the *prætorship*; and in 300, by the *Lex Ogulnia*, plebeians were appointed to *priestly posts*. It was natural, however, that these offices were obtained by the richer plebeians; and these families, together with the patricians, now formed a new class—that of the nobility of office.

Rome's Conquest of Italy during the Samnite Wars.—In the course of the next century, Rome enlarged her dominions, and made herself mistress of the entire peninsula. The war with the Samnites led to her conquest of Middle Italy; whilst the war with Tarent and King Pyrrhus of Epirus brought the South of Italy under her sway.

The Samnite Wars.—The Samnites were a rude hill-folk, dwelling amidst the ridges of the Apennines, who contested the supremacy of Rome in the peninsula. For more than seventy years a fierce struggle was waged between the city on the Tiber and the warlike inhabitants of the Apennine mountains. The first Samnite war broke out in consequence of a hostile attack upon Capua and the Campanian plain by the mountaineers, and ended with the victory of Rome at Cumæ, near Mount Gaurus.

As the Latin cities had in the meantime broken out in revolt against Rome, demanding full Roman citizenship and a share in the

government, Rome concluded a peace with the Samnites, and turned her arms against the Latin cities. Under the command of the Consuls Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, the Romans defeated the Latins in a battle at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. A number of the cities that submitted to Rome were now received as her allies, with various privileges.

The Second and Third Samnite Wars.—Scarcely had the Latin conquest come to an end, when a new war broke out with the Samnites. The latter were supported by the Umbrians, Gauls, and Etruscans. But Rome was again victorious, and after the battle of Sentinum one city after another came under her sway. She was now in possession of Middle Italy, and a few years later she also conquered Southern or Lower Italy. During the Samnite wars Rome had already seized upon Lucania and Apulia in Lower Italy. But as the Roman armies were now continuing their conquest, they were opposed by the most powerful State in the South, the opulent city of Tarentum, a seaport on the Calabrian coast. A slight pretext, the insult offered to a Roman ambassador by the Tarantines, gave rise to a war. The Tarantines, being hard pressed, asked Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, one of the most renowned warriors of the age, to help them. By means of his elephants, which frightened the Roman soldiers, he gained two victories at Heracles, on the left bank of the river Siris, and at Asculum (279), but he lost so many soldiers that he is said to have exclaimed, "Another such victory and I shall return alone!" He endeavoured to negotiate with Rome, but the Senate, fired by a speech by the blind Appius Claudius, replied "that Rome will never treat with a victorious foe." Pyrrhus, therefore, not caring to continue a further war, left for Sicily, where his father-in-law, Agathocles of Syracuse, was being hard pressed by the Carthaginians. Here he suffered a total defeat, and returned to Tarentum. At Bonaventum he was completely vanquished by the Romans, and hastily retreated to Greece, where he fell before the city of Argos. Tarentum was soon taken by the Romans, whose mastery over Lower Italy was now assured. The entire peninsula south of the Arno and the Rubicon was under Roman sway, and by means of military roads such as the Via Appia, from Canua to Brundisium, and colonies such as Pæstum in the south and Ariminum in the north, Rome endeavoured to keep a strong hold over her possession.

Rome's dominion over the conquered towns of Italy was the "dominion of a city over cities." The various populations inhabiting Italy were divided into three classes—1. Communities enjoying Roman right; 2. Communities with Latin right; and, 3. Communities with foreign right.

Chapter III

THE PUNIC WARS

Carthage and the Carthaginians—Queen Dido—Hannibal—The Battle of Cannæ—Scipio Africanus—The destruction of Corinth—Wars in Spain—Siege of Numantia.

ROME having now subdued the peninsula found herself face to face with a new and more dangerous rival than the Latin cities. She carried her arms beyond her Italian boundaries, and gradually extended her dominions along the Mediterranean. Her principal rival was now the powerful city of Carthage. Phœnician emigrants had founded this city many centuries before on the north coast of Africa. Carthage was practically one of the many colonies of the Phœnician cities of Tyre and Sidon. According to tradition the town was founded by Queen Dido, who fled from Tyre after the assassination of her husband Sichæus by her brother Pygmalion. Thanks to the enterprising skill and ability of her inhabitants Carthage rose to a high state of opulence and power, and extended her rule over many cities on the Mediterranean coast, establishing colonies in Sicily and in the south of France. Two mighty rivals were now facing each other, and a conflict was inevitable. The East and the West, Aryan and Semitic civilizations were again to measure their strength and to battle for the dominion of the world. Carthage was governed by two Suffeti who, like the consuls in Rome, were elected every year. They also presided over the Gerusia, or the Council of the Ancients, consisting of twenty members. Only in cases where Suffeti and Gerusia could not agree the popular assembly was called upon to give its decision. The Carthaginians, unlike the Romans, did not fight themselves, but left the warfare to mercenaries whom they hired in Gaul, Spain and Africa, and whom, owing to her large wealth, Carthage could afford to pay. Carthage too had a splendid fleet at her command and about 300 B.C. practically ruled the waves of the Mediterranean, whilst Rome's naval power was insignificant. The growing jealousy between these two powerful rivals, each anxious to extend her power, soon led to an open conflict. A warlike engagement in the island of Sicily gave rise to the Punic Wars.

Beginning of the War—The Mamertines.—The Mamertines (sons of Mars), a body of companion pirates, had seized the town of Messana. Hiero, king of Syracuse, marched against the Mamertines who applied to Rome for help, whilst Hiero was supported by Carthage. The Romans were victorious, and Hiero speedily left the Carthaginian side and became an ally of Rome. But Rome had no fleet, and if she wished to be successful she had to meet Carthage on the sea. The Romans therefore decided to build a fleet, and a shipwrecked Punic vessel served them as a model. A naval engagement took place at Mylæ, where the Romans, by means of a drawbridge which as soon as the enemy's vessel approached they let down upon it, changed to some extent the naval to a land fight, and defeated the Carthaginians. Encouraged by this success the Roman Consul Atilius Regulus crossed over to Africa and approached the gates of Carthage. He soon, however, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Spartan general Xanthippus and was taken prisoner. The Romans underwent many other misfortunes and several of their fleets were destroyed, until they at last gained advantage over the enemy at Panormus (Palermo). The Carthaginians sent a deputation, among them the prisoner Regulus, to negotiate for peace. Regulus advised against it, but faithful to his oath returned to Carthage, where he was put to death. The Romans having won a naval victory at the Ægæan islands under the Consul Lutatius Catulus, Carthage asked again for peace. She renounced her claims upon Sicily and was compelled to pay a large sum as war indemnity. Sicily, with the exception of the strip of land belonging to Hiero, was made a Roman province, was forced to pay a tribute to Rome and to submit to be ruled by a Roman governor. Sicily became the first Roman province, *i.e.* territory beyond the Italian boundaries. The First Punic War had lasted twenty-three years, but although peace had been concluded the war was not at an end, and after an interval of twenty-three years it broke out afresh.

The Second Punic War.—During the truce the Carthaginians had to wage a fierce war against their mercenary troops, whilst the Romans were in the meantime making preparations for a renewed struggle. They took possession of Corsica and Sardinia and seized the island Corcyra (Corfu) from the Illyrian pirates. The Cisalpine Gauls who had advanced into Etruria were also beaten by the Roman soldiers, and the strip of land on both sides of the Po became a Roman province under the name of Gallia Cisalpina. The Carthaginians had in the meantime sought to find compensation for their losses by conquests in the south of Spain, and had established their rule in the peninsula under their generals Hamilcar Barca and his son-in-law, Hasdrubal. Hasdrubal, however, was assassinated and

Hamilcar's twenty-five-year-old son Hannibal took over the command of the Carthaginian troops. Hannibal is one of the greatest military leaders known to history.

Hannibal's Vow; he attacks Saguntum.—As a child he had sworn eternal hate to the Romans. Faithful to his vow he was now anxious to find an opportunity to attack the foe. Under some flimsy pretext he laid siege to Saguntum and captured the city. Saguntum was an ally of Rome, and Rome therefore demanded the extradition of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginian Senate naturally hesitated, and war was declared. The Second Punic War, which lasted from 218–201, had broken out.

Hannibal's Passage of the Alps.—Convinced that Rome's power could only be crushed by an attack in Italy, Hannibal formed the plan of invading the Italian peninsula, and whilst Rome was ignorant of his movements the Carthaginian general passed the Pyrenees and advanced into Gallia. His brother Hasdrubal remained with an army in Spain, whilst Hannibal crossed the Alps under unheard of difficulties; the ranks of his soldiers were thinned by the sufferings of the march, but he appeared suddenly at the head of 20,000 men in the valley of Po. At the rivers Ticinus and the Trebia he won two splendid victories, and Cisalpine Gaul fell into his hands. After a short halt in Liguria the victor crossed the Apennines and penetrated into Etruria. Here he was met by the Consul Flaminius, whom he defeated at the lake Trasimenus. The way to Rome was now open to him, but Hannibal still hesitated. He turned to the Adriatic and seized upon Campania. The population, however, remained faithful to Rome. The Roman Senate appointed Fabius Maximus as dictator. The latter, not daring to venture an open battle, conceived the plan of delaying and exhausting the patience of the enemy. His soldiers therefore surnamed him Cunctator (The Delayer). They were discontented with his policy, and in the following year practically compelled the Consul Terentius Varro to fight a pitched battle.

The Battle of Cannæ.—The Romans suffered a crushing defeat at Cannæ. The day of Cannæ, as that of Allia, was marked black in the Roman calendar. But still Hannibal hesitated to march upon Rome. He chose the rich and luxurious Capua for his winter quarters. The Carthaginian general found that the Roman allies had not all hastened to join him—indeed, many remained faithful to Rome. Reinforcements from Carthage were also slow in coming. The cities in Lower Italy who had joined Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ were soon reconquered by the Romans, and their Consul Marcellus crossed over to Sicily and laid siege to Syracuse.

The Siege and Fall of Syracuse.—For three years the town resisted,

thanks to the genius and inventions of the great mathematician Archimedes. At last, however, Syracuse was captured, and the Roman revenge was severe and cruel. The same fate befell Capua, and although Hannibal, in order to force the Roman legions to withdraw, had advanced before the gates of Rome, Capua fell into the hands of the Romans. Two years later the Romans also captured Tarentum. In the meantime Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal was being hard pressed in Spain by the Roman army under Cornelius Scipio. Hasdrubal therefore decided to join his forces with those of his brother in Italy. On his march, however, he was surprised by the Consul Claudius Nero on the river Metaurus. The Carthaginians were defeated and Hasdrubal was killed. Hannibal learned the news of the disaster when his brother's head was hurled into his camp.

Scipio carries the War into Africa.—For some time Hannibal still resisted the victorious Scipio, but the latter soon crossed over to Africa, and Carthage called her general back to defend his country. At Zama he suffered a defeat and advised Carthage to sue for peace. The conditions now imposed by Rome were hard. If after the end of the First Punic War Carthage had lost her possessions in Italy, she was now compelled to give up Spain, to surrender all her ships of war save ten galleys, and to pay a heavy indemnity (five thousand talents and fifty annually for fifty years). Carthage had also to promise never to engage in a war without the permission and consent of Rome. And whilst Scipio, surnamed Africanus, was making his triumphant entry into Rome, Hannibal left his native land as an exile and found refuge at the court of the Syrian King Antiochus.

The Third Punic War.—In spite of her disasters, Carthage, however, gradually regained her former prosperity and wealth. She was again becoming opulent and powerful; but her growing power and opulence were jealously watched by Roman statesmen. Cato the Censor continually urged his fellow-citizens to crush the ancient rival. Never a speech of his was finished without adding the words: *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*. An opportunity for war soon offered itself. According to the treaty Carthage had no right to engage in any war without the consent of Rome. Now Massinissa, king of Numidia, taking advantage of this state of affairs, seized upon Carthage's territory. The Carthaginians appealed to Rome, but the Roman delegates decided in favour of Massinissa. The Carthaginians, therefore, on a second attack by Massinissa, offered armed resistance, without waiting for Rome's permission. Such disobedience was bound to be punished. Carthage was ordered to surrender her arms and ships. She obeyed, but when the Roman Senate issued another decree that Carthage should be levelled to the

ground and the inhabitants build themselves new homes further away from the coast, the indignation of the Carthaginians was extreme. They decided to defend their ancient homes. Their enthusiasm was great, and several times did they defeat the Roman legions, but at last Scipio the Younger captured the city. Carthage, the mistress of the Mediterranean, was levelled to the ground, the inhabitants were massacred or carried off into slavery, and the Carthaginian territory became a Roman province under the name of Africa, governed by a Roman governor, who had his residence in Africa. Scipio the Younger was surnamed Africanus in commemoration of his victories.

The Conquest of Greece and Macedonia.—Almost simultaneously, whilst Rome was crushing her rival, Carthage gained sway over the Mediterranean and expanded her dominion as far as Africa; she advanced step by step in Macedonia and Greece, until at last Greece became a Roman province. The conquest took place during the fifty years which elapsed between the Second and the Third Punic Wars. Philip V, who during the Second Punic War reigned in Macedonia, had formed an alliance with Carthage, and as soon as the Second Punic War was over Rome decided to punish him.

Macedonia Conquered.—A Roman army under Flaminius penetrated into Macedonia, defeated Philip at Cynoscephalæ (or the Dogsheads) in Thessaly and compelled the Macedonian king to give up his conquests in Greece, over which Rome now extended her protectorate. Being now in a position to meddle in Grecian affairs, Rome gradually began to make the country entirely dependent. Several tribes therefore, especially the Ætolians, formed a league and applied to Antiochus, the king of Syria, for help. The latter, at whose court Hannibal had found refuge, invaded Greece, but was defeated by the Romans under Manlius Acilius Glabrio at the Thermopylæ and forced to retreat into Asia. He was followed by Scipio, a brother of Africanus. Antiochus suffered another defeat at Magnesia, near Mount Sipylus, in consequence of which a large portion of Asia Minor, this side of the Taurus, fell into the hands of the Romans. It was turned into (a kingdom of Asia) a Roman dependency, and conferred upon the Roman ally, Eumenes, king of Pergamos. Scipio was surnamed Asiaticus and triumphantly returned to Rome, whilst Hannibal fled to Prusias II, king of Bithynia. But as the Roman envoy demanded his extradition, the victor of Cannæ, sooner than be executed in Rome, took poison and died at the age of sixty-three. According to tradition his antagonist Scipio, who was accused in Rome of taking bribery, died in Lower Italy the same year.

Destruction of Corinth.—The Macedonian monarchy was completely annihilated a few years later. Perseus, son of Philip, had taken

up arms against Rome, but at Pydna he suffered a crushing defeat and was made prisoner. Macedonia was placed under a Republican government, and twenty years later she was converted into a Roman province. At this time the Achæan League also raised the banner of revolt against Rome and her oppressive government; the rebellion, however, was quelled by Metellus, and the city of Corinth, "The eye of Hellas," was taken and destroyed in the same year as Carthage was being levelled to the ground. Greece was turned into a Roman province under the name of Achæa.

Wars in Spain—Siege of Numantia.—In the interval which elapsed between the Second and Third Punic Wars Rome was obliged continually to suppress revolts in Spain. Rome's control over the Pyrenean peninsula was threatened by the constant risings of the warlike tribes, the Celtiberians and Lusitanians, who carried on what is known as the *Guerrilla*, or Small War. Their chief city was Numantia, which defied Rome for five years, until forced to surrender to Scipio Africanus. As nearly all the citizens had either fallen in the defence of the city or had heroically committed suicide, the empty town was destroyed, and Rome extended her rule over Spain. In the same year in which Numantia fell, Attalus IV, the son of Emmenes II, died and left his territory, the kingdom of Pergamus, to the Roman people. It was turned into a Roman province under the name of Asia. Rome now possessed eight provinces: 1, Sicily, since 241; 2, Sardinia and Corsica, since 238; 3, Eastern Spain; 4, Western Spain, since 206; 5, Macedonia, since 146; 6, Africa, since 146; 7, Asia, since 133; 8, Gallia Narbonensis, since 121.

Chapter IV

THE ERA OF CIVIL WARS AND INNER REVOLUTIONS

Decadence of the Republic—Revolution in Roman Life—The Gracchi—Jugurtha—The Cimbri and Teutons—The Marsic War—Marius and Sulla.

THE virtues which had been the strength of Rome during her struggles with the neighbouring races in Italy, which had saved her during the wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal, were not proof against oriental corruption. The Romans returned from their conquests in Asia bringing with them the luxury and indolence of the East. Like all warlike nations coming for the first time into contact with a more advanced civilization, they borrowed from the Greeks their vices only. The great enriched themselves at the expense of the provinces, and under the names of prætor, pro-prætor, and pro-consul, they lived in extravagant luxury, surrounded by a court of flatterers, kings in all but name. On their return to Rome they brought with them immense treasures and the luxurious habits of the East. Following them came a crowd of slaves to people their palaces, workshops and estates. Adventurers from all over the world inundated the city to exploit their talents and vices. The face of Rome was transformed, her severe morals gave place to grossness, the old religion, once synonymous with patriotism, fell into ridicule and was replaced by the Hellenic poetical, but immoral legends.

The old religion was not merely abandoned in secret, but everywhere in public women could be seen sacrificing according to foreign rites.

As early as 186 B.C., the Senate was compelled to make a firm stand against the Bacchanalia, a mixture of debauchery and crimes, in which thousands of men and women took part. Poets of the new literature showered ridicule on the national religion; Lucretius, in his poem "On the Nature of Things," merely expressed the ideas of Roman Society when he exalted the materialistic doctrines of Epicurus, and denied the existence of the Divinity and of a future life.

Social Revolution, gradual Disappearance of the Middle Class.—A social revolution accompanied the moral one, the middle class

disappeared, and with it the true strength of Rome. The Roman people had suffered from two centuries of continual warfare, their legions had been decimated incessantly by daily combats, forced marches, sudden changes from climate to climate, the privations of war, and the excesses of conquest. The taste for work was lost in these journeys through the world, and the race of small agricultural landowners, which had contributed so greatly to the grandeur of Rome, died out; slaves became daily more numerous, and filled the great workshops, ruining by their competition the industries of the freemen. They occupied all the posts in the houses of the great, from the lowest domestic servant to secretary and tutor. The poor citizen, having no means of a livelihood, sold his vote to the Forum, and claimed part in the State distributions of wheat. In the time of Cæsar, 320,000 out of 450,000 citizens lived at the expense of the Treasury. The true Roman was replaced by a crowd of foreigners from all countries, and by enfranchised slaves. The votes of many Romans were for the highest bidder, and at times of elections the ambitious knew well that some sacrifice must be made of their ill-gotten wealth to secure a majority. The old distinction of patrician and plebeian had disappeared, and a moneyed aristocracy, who jealously guarded honours and privileges from any newcomer unknown to them, reigned in their stead.

Cato constituted himself the defender of everything that had fallen into discredit: cultivation of the soil, the old religion, the simple and severe habits of the ancient Romans. His hatred embraced everything new and foreign, without distinction of good or corrupt: "You have often heard me repeat," he cried, "that two contrary vices undermine the Republic, luxury and avarice. They are the scourges which have ruined every big empire." His whole life was a censure on the vices of his contemporaries. As administrator of the first Scipio's army, he vexed the great consul, who discharged him, saying he had no need of such a scrupulous quæstor. As censor, Cato kept vigilant watch over public and private morals, and bestowed on the magistrates unlimited power in order to scourge the corruption of the great. But even this passionate admirer of the past fell himself a victim to the laxity of the times. In his eagerness to acquire wealth he grew avaricious, and his avarice is characterized in the words attributed to himself: "the admirable man, the divine man, the man most worthy of glory is he who can show by his accounts that he has acquired more wealth than he received from his fathers."

The Reforms of the Gracchi—Tiberius Gracchus—The Agrarian Law (133 B.C.).—In the midst of this state of things when the Republic was on the road to ruin, the Gracchi endeavoured to save it. The

two brothers, Tiberius and Caius, of a plebeian but illustrious family—their mother, Cornelia, was the sister of Scipio, destroyer of Carthage—appeared as the champions of the poorer classes against the rich. Youthful and generous, Tiberius undertook to reconstruct the middle class, which had been the strength of Rome in the preceding century. The corrupted oligarchy, disposing of consulates and governments of provinces for its own profit, filled him with indignation.

The Public Lands.—He wished to distribute the land among the people, to make landowners and free citizens of the mob of workmen, the servants of the great, and instruments of their ambition. Made tribune, Tiberius put forward a project for an agrarian law, which was merely the ancient Licinian laws put into a practical system. The lands usurped by the rich were to be restored to the public, and distributed among the poor. Although there were some wise provisions, too many interests were at stake, and a battle was waged between the tribune reformer and those whom he wished to despoil. Tiberius faced it courageously, but at the critical moment the people themselves abandoned him, and the factions of the rich were left to massacre him and three hundred of his faithful partisans with impunity.

Caius pursued his brother's policy with even more daring and less moderation. He constituted himself the protector of the Italians and of the people of Rome, and his popularity made him the real master of the Republic. But the Senate, where his enemies predominated, undermined his popularity by skilful manoeuvres. Caius met violence with violence, but like his brother was abandoned by the populace, and fell a victim to the rich and to the cowardice of those for whom he had sacrificed himself. About 3,000 of his adherents perished with him (121 B.C.). The death of the two noble brothers had not put an end to the struggle between the rich and the poor, but whilst the Gracchi, inspired by an enlightened patriotism, had endeavoured to regenerate the Roman people, the demagogues who succeeded them saw in the claims of the people only a means of seizing power. Under pretext of defending the interests of the majority they fought merely in the interests of their own ambition.

The War with Jugurtha (111–106 B.C.).—Affairs in Africa exposed to full light the shameless corruption of the reigning oligarchy. Jugurtha, king of Numidia, having killed several rulers of various provinces, seized their possessions. Rome sent her officials to investigate the matter, but they all sold themselves to the usurper. So great was their venality that it disgusted even Jugurtha himself.

Senators and a consul allowed themselves to be bought by the enemy they were to fight, and betrayed the interests of Rome. At last, however, public indignation furnished a leader to the people ;

this was Marius, son of a peasant, an energetic soldier, but coarse, ambitious, and unscrupulous. Raised to the consulate he put an end to the war in a single campaign (106 B.C.). Jugurtha was delivered up to Sulla, one of the generals under Marius, and was led in chains through the streets of Rome in 105 B.C.

Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutons.—Re-elected as consul four times, Marius was again commissioned in 102 to check the redoubtable invasion of the Teutons and Cimbri. These people, heralds of the Barbarians, who, five centuries later, inundated the West, were ravaging Gaul and threatening Italy herself. Four Roman armies had been destroyed by them, but their hordes separated to cross the Alps. Marius met the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), and won a decisive battle over them. The Barbarians, who had their wives and children with them, and could expect no quarter, fought desperately, but they were annihilated by the Romans, and the people elected Marius a fifth time to the consulate (102 B.C.). Soon the Cimbri crossed the Alps, but Marius met them at Vercellæ, and utterly routed them. Nearly 120,000 of the Barbarians were killed, and many thousands were taken prisoners and sold as slaves. The honours showered on Marius after this double victory fired his vanity to obtain a new consulate; he allied himself with the demagogues and adventurers and violently attacked the Senate, but his ally, the tribune Saturninus, made himself so detested by his crimes that Marius himself, then consul, could not save him.

The Social or Marsic War.—Marius had become the saviour of Italy and the pride of the democratic party. But Rome, which had just escaped the terrors of a barbarian invasion, was now threatened by a new danger. The Italian allies demanded the privilege of Roman citizenship, and as this request was not conceded, many tribes, the Samnites and Marsians at their head, renounced allegiance to Rome, established a rival State, and declared Corfinium, now called Italica, their capital. The war lasted three years. To prevent the Latins, Etruscans and Umbrians, who had remained faithful, from joining the rebels, Rome conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon these three tribes. At last, however, the Senate thought it wise to extend the same rights to all Italians. This concession ended the so-called Marsic war.

WAR BETWEEN MARIUS AND SULLA

The Mithridatic War—Proscriptions (82 B.C.).—The Social War which had ravaged Italy, brought to light the military talents of Sulla. This former lieutenant of Marius, changed to an enemy, undertook the defence of the Senate and the nobles against his ancient general chief

of the popular party. Marius was driven from Rome, proscribed, and reduced to hiding, but soon he reappeared. Sulla had gone to the East to fight against Mithridates. The latter, king of Pontus, on the Black Sea, had united Asiatic and Greek States in a confederacy and endeavoured to free them from the Roman sway. He also seized some countries in alliance with Rome and sent an army into Greece. The conqueror of the Cimbri dishonoured the rest of his life by atrocious acts of vengeance, and then died before the return of his rival. The latter, after bringing the war against Mithridates to a glorious conclusion, returned all powerful and thirsting for vengeance. The *proscriptions* recommenced in every town of Italy, and there was no temple of the gods, no domestic altar, nor home unsullied by murders (82 B.C.). Such was the terror inspired by Sulla that for three years (82-79 B.C.) he enjoyed the power of an Asiatic despot. But he suddenly abdicated his power and retired to his villa at Puteoli, where he spent the remaining months of his life in writing his memoirs. The frightful and gross dissipations in which he had indulged hastened his end, and he died the next year (78 B.C.). His work did not survive him; he thought to have established by his institutions the omnipotence of the Senate, but the troubles recommenced immediately after his death.

Chapter V

THE TIMES OF POMPEY AND CÆSAR

Pompey in Spain—Spartacus and the Slaves—Cæsar—The first Triumvirate—Civil Wars—Battle of Pharsalus—Pompey—Death of Cæsar—Mark Antony—The Second Triumvirate—The Proscriptions—Battle of Philippi—Antony and Cleopatra—Battle of Actium.

THE Senate was unable to keep the power restored to the aristocratic party by Sulla. Senators had lost that patriotism, that disinterestedness, that dignity which, in the good days of the Republic, had assured respect to their authority. Nor were the people more worthy of esteem. After their cowardly abandon of the Gracchi they had become the instrument of Marius and Saturninus.

Spartacus and the Servile War.—Torn by two factions, both equally impotent to exercise power, Rome fell into anarchy. Ambitious men struggled for the supremacy, Pompey seemed at first to be the most powerful, and for some years it was thought that he would succeed Sulla. Before the war with Sertorius was over a new danger threatened Rome. Seventy-eight gladiators had escaped from Capua, where they were being trained, and reinforced by other slaves, they grew into a mass of more than 100,000 men. Under the guidance of Spartacus they devastated the cities of Italy and defeated four Roman armies in succession. He vanquished Sertorius, one of the friends of Marius, who had taken possession of Spain and formed the plan of setting up an independent Republic. Dissension, however, among the slaves led to their complete defeat. A bloody battle was fought on the banks of the Silarus, in which Spartacus fell. The remainder of the slaves marched into Upper Italy, where they were destroyed by Pompey. The latter was now invested with the power of a dictator in order to destroy the pirates who infested the Mediterranean (66).

War against the Mediterranean Pirates—Mithridatic War.—Having vanquished the pirates he proceeded to Asia to conclude the war against Mithridates. Encouraged by the misrule of Rome and the internal disturbances, the latter had again seized arms. Pompey annihilated the army of Mithridates, reduced Tigranes, king of Armenia, son-in-law of Mithridates, from whom the latter had sought protection, to submission and homage, and conquered Syria,

Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia. Mithridates destroyed himself and Pompey erected the conquered lands into Roman provinces. Pompey now seemed indeed to be the expected master, who might re-establish order in the Republic; he preferred, however, to direct affairs without assuming the supreme power.

Cicero—The Conspiracy of Catiline (63 B.C.).—Pompey's hesitation delivered Rome into the hands of the factionaries, of whom the most daring was Catiline. "The Roman people," he said, "is a body without a head, I will be the head." His followers were composed of all the penniless adventurers, fortune-seekers, and debauched rioters of Rome, but he also had accomplices even in the Senate. Catiline had formed a plot to kill the consuls, massacre the senators and to burn the city of Rome. The conspiracy was defeated by the genius of the great orator Cicero. The latter was one of the "new men" whom the oligarchy conspired to keep from power. Honest, devoted to public welfare, courageous when necessary, he still lacked, unfortunately, the qualities which make a great statesman. In 66 B.C., alarmed at the manœuvres of Catiline, the Senate overlooked its aristocratic prejudices and supported Cicero's candidature for the consulate, a support which Cicero justified by his activity in defeating the conspirator's plots. He waited until his proofs were complete, and then, in a superb speech before the Senate, in which Catiline was sitting, he denounced the conspirator. Dumbfounded and alarmed at the hostile attitude of his colleagues, Catiline fled from Rome to raise a band of some of Sulla's old soldiers. His accomplices were arrested and executed by Cicero, Rome was saved, and Catiline perished soon after, arms in hand.

Cæsar—The First Triumvirate (60 B.C.).—Cicero was hailed by the people as the father of the country and the saviour of Rome. In the meantime Pompey had returned from the East, and although received in triumph by his fellow-citizens he was feared by those in power. The old republican party had gained some new strength in consequence of the defeat of Catiline. Men like Cicero and Cato, grandson of Cato the elder, endeavoured to form a senatorial party which all honest men could join. Under the influence of these two great citizens the Senate defied Pompey, made him wait for his triumph after his return from Asia, and refused to give lands to his veterans. The efforts of the senatorial party, however, to revive the days of old Roman integrity and patriotism proved futile. The Republic was tottering to its grave. Ambitious men were striving after personal power, and every one sought to rule Rome and to shape affairs after their own pleasure. Pompey, annoyed with the Senate, joined Julius Cæsar, whom the Senate had also offended by refusing to grant him a triumph. Cæsar was a

patrician, of the Julian family, one of the most illustrious in Rome; but as a nephew, by marriage, of Marius he early identified himself with the people's cause. He was generous, well-informed, eloquent, and to the solid qualities of a statesman he added those of a brilliant soldier. He was the most popular man in Rome when he entered into a coalition with Pompey. The two then united with the rich Crassus and formed the first triumvirate (60 B.C.). They became the masters of the Republic. Cæsar, the most able of the three, caused himself to be appointed consul, used his power to ruin the senatorial party, and obtained for himself the government of Gaul, both cisalpine and transalpine (*Gallia Narbonensis*).

Cæsar's Conquest in Gaul—His Campaigns (58–56 B.C.).—Cæsar undertook to complete the conquest of transalpine Gaul, and thus fortify his own power with an invincible army. The provinces which Cæsar was now to rule were threatened by a formidable invasion, for the Germanic races were coming down upon the country, and the Gallic tribes, torn by domestic strife, were incapable of checking them. But within eight years Cæsar subdued the barbarians, and brought the country between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine and the Atlantic under his sway. The success of his seven campaigns, which delivered Gaul into his hands, was due as much to his diplomacy as to his military operations. He turned to his own advantage the rivalry of the warlike tribes, whose unity would have been fatal to him. He conquered the Helvetii, who had crossed the Jura, and drove them back to their mountains; he then checked the invasion of the Germans, who had crossed the Rhine under their prince, Ariovistus, and crushed the Suevi. The next year he turned his arms against the warlike tribes of the north.

Cæsar in Britain.—In the third campaign he vanquished the Veneti of the Atlantic coast on land and sea. Twice he crossed the English Channel, fought several skin-clad tribes inhabiting the British islands, and exacted a tribute (55–54 B.C.); this was chiefly done in order to impress the barbarians with his power.

But whilst Cæsar was absent in Italy the Gallic tribes again revolted. The leader of the insurrection was Vercingetorix, chief of the tribe of the Arverni. A desperate struggle followed, but the Gallic leader, who had taken refuge in Alesia, was subdued and put to death. His defeat terminated the war, and Cæsar succeeded in reducing the whole country as far as the Rhine, and in saving the province for the Republic.

Civil Wars—Rivalry between Cæsar and Pompey—Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.).—While Cæsar was winning an empire for Rome, Pompey was losing power. Harassed continually by the demagogue Clodius he sought the support of the Senate, once his bitterest enemy.

The relation between Cæsar and Pompey gradually changed from one of friendship to that of mistrust and hostility. Meantime the death of Crassus removed the last link between the two rivals and dissolved the triumvirate. Crassus had departed for his province in Syria, but an unhappy expedition which he had undertaken against the Parthians ended with a disaster for the Roman arms and the death of the triumvir. The enmity between Cæsar and Pompey increased when the latter was appointed sole consul. The Senate then determined to prevent Cæsar from standing as a candidate for the consulship, unless he should give up his military command. But Cæsar, upon being summoned by the Senate to disband his troops, disobeyed; he crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, and marched upon Rome (49 B.C.).

Pompey and the Senate, taken by surprise, had no means of resistance, and retreated to Illyria. Cæsar hastened to Spain, where Pompey had left his best legions, and partly by force and partly by persuasion obtained their submission. He then bore down towards the Adriatic, but Pompey was master of the sea, and during the combats near Dyrrhachium in Illyria, Cæsar's army, suffering from famine, was exposed to the greatest dangers. He was, however, skilful enough to draw the enemy in pursuit of him to Thessaly, where a battle was fought on the plains of Pharsalus. Pompey was defeated and fled to Egypt, where he was killed by the treachery of Ptolemy's ministers (48 B.C.).

Cæsar's Triumphs—Dictatorship (44 B.C.).—The victorious Cæsar showed a moderation unusual in civil war: he spared the vanquished, enrolled them in his legions or set them at liberty. In Egypt, on being presented with Pompey's head, he turned away with horror and punished the murderers. After placing Cleopatra, sister of Ptolemy, on the throne of Egypt, and pacifying Asia Minor, troubled by Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, he recorded his speedy victory to the Senate in the famous words, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" Cæsar then proceeded to Thapsus in Africa, and crushed the army raised by the survivors of Pharsalus. The most illustrious of these, Cato of Utica, ever faithful to the cause of the Republic, stabbed himself, unwilling to survive the ruin of liberty. Of the sons of Pompey, who had raised a new army in Spain, one was killed at the battle of Munda, the other escaped, and peace was definitely settled in Spain. Unsurpassed honours now awaited the conqueror at Rome; he was proclaimed father of his country and permanent dictator. The honours of four splendid triumphs were prepared for him; feasting and rejoicing such as Rome had never before witnessed united the people and their master in common joy.

Death of Cæsar.—Cæsar saw that the Roman Empire could no

longer be governed either by the Senate or by the popular assemblies. A democratic monarchy, with the supreme power in the hands of one man, was the only suitable government which could assure the peace of Rome and the world. But the aristocracy regretted the loss of their ancient privileges, and many persons could not forgive Cæsar's usurpation of power. The ambition of some, the blind fanaticism of others, soon gave rise to a conspiracy of which the members were composed, for the most part, of friends of Cæsar. The two leaders were Cassius and Brutus; the former was instigated by a selfish ambition, whilst the latter, a zealous republican, held Cæsar to be an enemy of the people. These enemies, who suspected Cæsar of aiming at the power and the title of a king, decided upon his death.

The assassination took place on the Ides (the fifteenth day) of March 44 B.C. Although Cæsar had received many warnings to "beware of the Ides of March," he paid no attention to them. A paper put into his hand on his way to the Senate on the fatal day he did not even open. He held a meeting of the Senate in the Hall of Pompey, but scarcely had he taken his seat than the conspirators crowded round him. At first Cæsar defended himself, but when he perceived Brutus among his enemies he exclaimed "Et tu Brute" ("Thou, too, Brutus"), and drew his mantle over his face. Pierced by twenty-three daggers, he fell dead at the foot of the statue of Pompey.

Mark Antony and Octavius.—Cæsar's murderers soon discovered the impossibility of establishing a free government in place of that which they had overthrown. The Senate dared not act, whilst Cæsar's lieutenants, Antony and Lepidus, incited the people and the army to revolt. The popularity of the murdered dictator was a powerful weapon in their hands. Antony, a brutal and coarse soldier, became in a few days the real master of Rome. Brutus and Cassius were compelled to quit Italy and retreat to Macedonia and Syria.

In order to weaken the power of Mark Antony, Cicero, who once more tried to rescue liberty and the Republic, decided to use Octavius, Cæsar's grand-nephew and adopted son, in the interests of the Senate.

As Cæsar's legitimate heir, Octavius arrived in Italy with an army composed of his uncle's veterans; he was nineteen years of age, discreet and cunning. Cicero, anxious to defeat Antony and regarding Octavius as a child, was eager to flatter him and to shower honours upon him. Confident of his success he gave free vent to his hate of Antony in his passionate philippics.

The Second Triumvirate—The Proscriptions (43 B.C.).—But the Senate and Cicero had been cheated by Octavius. "The child," as he was called, proved a wonderfully capable politician who, after being

strengthened by the support of the Senate, suddenly adopted an independent attitude and allied himself to Antony and Lepidus.

A coalition, known as the second triumvirate, was formed between these three men, the new triumvirs were masters of the Republic, the armies were at their disposal, the soldiers, having long since forgotten that patriotic devotion which was once the glory of the Republic, were ready to support any general, ready to decimate his enemies in Rome or on the battlefield to win money and lands promised in reward. The triumvirs, unlike Pompey and Cæsar, threw off every semblance of legality; they exterminated the senatorial party, the proscriptions surpassing in horror even those of Sulla. Cicero fell a victim to Antony's personal hate, and of the three hundred senators and three thousand nobles put to death, many fell by the hands of those who simply coveted their property, and it was this absence of political passion which added a peculiar horror to the murders.

Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.).—The triumvirs now prepared to attack their enemies abroad. Brutus and Cassius had retreated to the East to raise an army. Brutus himself realized too late the vanity of his dream to restore an impossible liberty. He had hoped to save Rome by murdering his benefactor, and had brought about his own ruin without profit to the Republic. The liberators had established their camp in Macedonia. Antony and Octavius marched against them, and at Philippi, on the northern coast of the Ægean Sea, a double engagement took place. Seeing Cassius dead, Brutus, "the last of the Romans," fell on his sword in despair, crying, "Virtue, thou art but a name." Many republicans followed his example and destroyed themselves with their own hands. His wife, Portia, killed herself by means of live coals.

After the victory the triumvirs gave way to appalling cruelty under pretext of avenging Cæsar; and having exterminated their disarmed enemies, they made a new partition of the world between them. Antony reigned in the East, Octavius in Italy and the West, whilst Lepidus had to be content with Africa (42 B.C.).

Power of Octavius.—It was, however, the dream of Octavius to become sole master of the world, and the difficulties of his position were so great that for ten years he was compelled to abandon all idea of new conquests. The soldiers, bribed to fight by dint of promises of reward, now demanded a large share of the fruits of victory. Peaceable landowners were despoiled of their property, towns robbed of their territories, Italy and the provinces pressed to give land and money to these armed and impatient creditors.

The new landowners invaded their neighbours' properties and killed the owners if any resistance was offered, and having spent

their money in orgies, and sold their lands, they descended upon Rome to disturb the town with their claims and violence. Octavius at last established peace, but a new enemy appeared to check his ambitious designs. This was Sextus Pompey, the youngest son of the triumvir, whose fleet held the Mediterranean and threatened to stop all commerce. Octavius, while a fleet was being constructed, made terms with him, offering to cede Sicily and Achaia; but as soon as the fleet was ready he offered battle. Sextus Pompey was defeated and fled to Asia, where he died. Lepidus, too, gradually allowed himself to be despoiled of Africa by Octavius.

Antony and Cleopatra.—While the power of Octavius grew daily in the West, Antony, by his weakness and folly, made himself the object of contempt and detestation. He had no thought for anything beyond his passion for Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, the “Siren of the Nile.” The anger of Pompey, his own honour, the ambitions of Octavius were as nothing before his mad passion for the Egyptian queen. He tore himself from her embraces for a few months in order to lead an expedition against the Parthians, but the war was futile, fought as it was against an impregnable enemy. At least the retreat might have been conducted with order, but in his mad desire to return to Egypt Antony exhausted his troops by forced marches, and lost 24,000 men.

Battle of Actium (31 B.C.).—Octavius lost no opportunity to use the strong feeling which prevailed against Antony at Rome to his own advantage. With a great semblance of right on his side Octavius prepared for battle. It was not Antony, it was the queen of Egypt he was to chastise in the name of the Senate and Rome. A battle was fought at Actium (31). Cleopatra had determined to appear on the battlefield, but in the middle of the fight she fled. Antony, like a man possessed, followed the Egyptian vessels, and his fleet was completely vanquished. His land army having waited a week for their general, went over to Octavius (31). The latter was thenceforth master of the world. When he appeared in Egypt Antony killed himself, and Cleopatra, having in vain endeavoured to subdue the conqueror by her charms, died, it is said, from the bite of an asp she had placed on her arm. Egypt became a Roman province, and Octavius returned to Rome, where he was granted the honours of a triple triumph.

Chapter VI

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Organization of the Empire—The Age of Augustus—Tiberius Caligula—Claudius—Nero—Titus—Domitian.

AFTER the battle of Actium Octavius was the undisputed master of the Roman Republic. Warned by the fate of Julius Cæsar, he resolved to cloak his assumption of supreme authority under all possible constitutional formalities. He left to the Senate its former rights, but, as "Prince of the Senate" (*Princeps Senatus*), he exercised the greatest influence upon its deliberations and decisions; the institution of the consulate was retained, but he assumed the title of consul for life, and chose his colleagues in office; he was the only tribune, and, as such, the only representative of the people, whilst under the title of imperator he was the commander-in-chief of the armies and governor of the provinces. As "*Pontifex Maximus*" he exercised the highest religious authority, and as "Perpetual Censor" superintended the "high police" of public and private morals. In short, he centred in himself every high office, conferred in accordance with all the forms of the law; he was the only magistrate, and all the power was in his hands. Others in office possessed only nominal control—merely the dignity of bearing a title—and were in reality nothing but his lieutenants. After having expelled from the Senate such members as were too independent, he made it his council; flattering those who remained by an outward show of deference. Octavius diplomatically refused the many new titles that were offered him, accepting only those of "Princeps" and "Imperator." The Senate called him Augustus, a title which had only been applied to the gods, and it is by this title that he is commonly known.

Absolute Power of the Emperor.—Augustus knew that his real power rested upon the soldiers. He therefore made the army a permanent organization; the soldiers were sent to the frontiers, far from the towns—ready to resist the barbarians. The twenty-five legions, however, assured not only the security of the empire, but also the personal safety of the emperor against the attacks of internal

foes. In every branch of his administration Augustus possessed absolute power; and although the public treasury was distinct from the privy purse of the prince, he could use the former as he pleased. In all the provinces his word was law.

"One is surprised," says Fustel de Coulanges, "to see how easy it was to establish the most absolute power." The founders of the empire had to introduce no new principle of government. It was by the principles and rules of old Republican Rome that they governed. The people still called the government the "Republic," and looked upon the "Princeps" merely as their representative—as the successor of the consuls. But never was any autocratic ruler more omnipotent than Augustus, who inherited the omnipotence of the Republic. . . . There were no more limits to the power of the prince than there had been to the power of the people, and it was unnecessary to speak of the divine right of the emperor. He even extended his rights to questions of life and death. His sentences of death were absolutely legal, and it was the constitution itself which put men's lives into the hands of the all-powerful "Princeps."

Government of Augustus (14 B.C.—30 A.D.).—The administration of Augustus was a peaceful one; he found the empire quite large enough, and had no desire to extend it. If he sent expeditions to the Alps and the Pyrenees it was merely to enforce the submission of the warlike tribes who inhabited those mountains, and whose independence was a constant menace to the peaceful inhabitants of the plains. The relations between the empire and the Parthians of Upper Asia were of a remarkably friendly nature. Only on the Rhine an attempt at conquest was made, but it resulted in disaster, for the Germans entirely destroyed three legions under the command of Varus. Augustus did not forget that bloody lesson. Henceforth, though Rome sometimes (under the leadership of Tiberius), either in ostentation or as a measure of precaution, marched her armies into the district lying between the Rhine and Elbe, yet no attempt was made at conquest or permanent occupation.

Some, remembering the hideous atrocities of the civil wars, did not regret the past, and gave themselves up to the enjoyment of present peace and prosperity.

Augustus also tried to re-establish a sentiment of reverence for the dignity of morals and of family life and of respect for religion; but his laws availed little amongst a thoroughly corrupt society. Nevertheless, if his laudable efforts in that direction scarcely produced any real results, his government had a very great influence on the progress of civilization. He himself lived a simple life. He granted a pardon to Cinna, who had conspired against him, kept a watchful eye on the administration of the provinces, and everywhere

established order and peace. Unfortunately, he did not sufficiently profit by the opportunities afforded him to endow Rome with a well-defined, well-constituted government, and the power that, in the hands of certain of his successors, was used so well, was by many others disgracefully abused.

Embellishment of Rome—The Age of Augustus.—Augustus took advantage of the prosperity of the empire to erect during his reign many beautiful monuments—he was wont to boast that out of a city of bricks he had made a city of marble. The Temple of Mars the Avenger (Marsuttor), the Theatre of Marcellus, his family mausoleum, and the new Forum were among the most magnificent of the edifices erected under his auspices. The name of Mæcenas, the friend of Horace, together with those of Catullus, Sallust, Cicero and Cæsar of the preceding period, made of his century the golden age of Latin literature, and it was Augustus who opened the first libraries in Rome. He was the friend of Horace and Virgil, protected Varius and Propertius, and made Titus Livius his grandson's tutor. The poet Ovid, the architect Vitruvius and the physician Celsus, the Greek writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the geographer Strabo also flourished during this time.

The famous Roman games were at the height of their popularity under Augustus; battles between men and beasts in which hundreds of lives were sacrificed, formed one of the chief pleasures of the Roman people. Never before had such a lust for these bloody encounters existed, and in these matters the people did as they pleased.

Death of Augustus.—The powerful emperor was unfortunate in his family life. His only daughter Julia was a veritable thorn in his side, owing to the absolute corruption of her morals; one after the other, death claimed Agrippa, his son-in-law, Marcellus, his nephew, and finally his grandchildren. His wife Livia, who exercised a great influence over the fast-ageing Princeps, had a son, Tiberius, by a former marriage; this child Augustus adopted as his own, and, on his deathbed, bequeathed to him the control of the empire (14 A.D.).

During the reign of Tiberius was to commence that memorable epoch in the history of Rome and of the world—that period which saw the birth and propagation of Christianity.

Birth and Progress of Christianity.—Jesus Christ was born during the reign of Augustus, in Judæa, one of the most isolated regions of the Roman Empire. At about the age of thirty he began his ministry, which at first had but slight success, in Palestine, but which, during the two following centuries, was to change the whole face of the globe.

The progress of Christianity was rapid ; it gained the Greek World, and subsequently Rome and the Eastern nations. The chief agent who effected this result and who gave to Christianity its universal character was the Apostle Paul. In the course of three missionary journeys Paul founded churches in Macedonia, Greece, and Illyricum. He preached the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, where he died as a martyr in 67, under Nero. The Christian religion, which taught its disciples to renounce the world, a religion of piety and charity, could not but appeal to those delicate natures which revolted against the grossness of paganism, against the atrocities and shame of the Imperial Court of Rome under Tiberius and his successors.

Tiberius (14-37 A.D.).—Tiberius the son of Livia, who had succeeded Augustus was fifty-six years of age when he came into power. He had already shown some talent as a general and an administrator, and a peaceful, happy reign might therefore have been reasonably expected. And he did, indeed, for several years, fulfil these expectations ; the first period of his rule might well have been a continuation of that of Augustus. Tiberius was simple in manner, generous and affable, and affected the modesty of a simple citizen ; he sent able governors to the provinces, reduced the taxes and punished those who were too exacting in their demands, saying that “a good shepherd shears his sheep, but he does not skin them” ; and, finally, he maintained severe discipline in his armies. Content to have re-established the honour of Rome by his incursions across the Rhine, he recalled his nephew and adopted son Germanicus, who had been successfully fighting the Germans, to Rome—and sent him to pacify the East, where the Parthians had again declared war. But Germanicus died suddenly, and his death was attributed to the agents of Tiberius ; the emperor, it was said, wished to rid himself of a prince who had become so powerful both by virtue of his talents and his popularity. It is perhaps uncertain whether Germanicus did not really die a natural death, though his own conviction that he was poisoned is indubitable. Be that as it may, however, the aristocracy of Rome clung eagerly to the accusation. Tired of repose, in need of activity, regretting either in reality or in imagination the former Republic, the former liberty, a change came over this section of the community. Plots were formed. The old emperor, naturally superstitious, became cruel. Inspired by his ambitious and crafty minister, Sejanus, he poured out blood like water ; the friends of Germanicus, his wife, the imprudent Agrippina, nearly all his family, and, indeed, even the emperor’s own son, Drusus, perished ; victims to the intrigues of Sejanus and the suspicions of Tiberius. Feeling himself alone and friendless, the emperor quitted Rome and with-

drew to his island abode of Capri at the entrance to the Gulf of Naples, and here the successor of Augustus appeared to become more pitiless with age. As for the Senate, indignant, but trembling, it hid beneath a mask of servile devotion the horror with which this tyranny inspired them.

The Cæsars—Caligula, Claudius and Nero.—The examples afforded by the successors of Tiberius served to demonstrate even more emphatically the evils attendant upon a wholly despotic and unorganized rule.

During the reign of Caligula (37-41 A.D.), the son of Germanicus, the empire was at the mercy of a furious madman's bloodthirsty caprices. This raving madman waged a war against God, nature and man. He indulged in the wildest excesses and the maddest revelries. He nominated his horse for consul, and wished that the Roman people had but one head so that he might strike it off with one blow. Caligula was assassinated by Chærea, a tribune of the prætorian guards, and was succeeded by Claudius (41-54 A.D.), the brother of Germanicus. Claudius was nominated by the army. After the assassination of Caligula the Senate was hesitating to choose a successor, but the prætorian guards named Claudius as emperor, and the Senate had to submit. The prætorians for a long time afterwards exercised the right of nominating an emperor. Claudius was only nominally emperor; in reality, his wife, the shameless Messalina, Narcissus and Pallus reigned under his name; carnage succeeded debauchery, and the miserable emperor was in the end (the year 54 A.D.) poisoned by his second wife, Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. Nero was his successor; Agrippina, his mother, asserted his claims before those of Claudius's own son, Britannicus. This powerful woman believed she would remain mistress of the empire. But it was not long before Nero broke away from the maternal bonds; he demonstrated his omnipotence by the perpetration of three atrocious crimes: he poisoned Britannicus, and he murdered his own mother Agrippina, at the suggestion of the beautiful, wicked Poppæa Sabina, and then his noble wife, Octavia. He also put to death Seneca, his teacher, and Burrus. Nothing delighted him so much as applause rendered to his musical and histrionic performances. During his reign a great fire occurred which destroyed a large part of Rome. Nero is reported to have gloated over the destruction of the city. Declaiming verses, his own poem on the sacking of Troy, as he stood gazing at Rome in flames—he congratulated himself on bringing about the catastrophe which was to permit him to rebuild the city according to his own plans, and to reserve a vast space for the erection of his own marvellous palace, the House of Gold. Asserting that the Christians had caused the

disaster, his next atrocity was to throw thousands of these innocents into the dens of wild beasts ; “ In their deaths the Christians were made subjects of sports.” Some of them were enveloped in the skins of beasts and torn by dogs ; others, smeared with pitch, set on fire alive, to light up the gardens of Nero as so many torches.

In spite of the corrupt state of the Senate, such tyranny was bound to end in revolution. A rebellion broke out in Gaul. Vindex, prætor, offered the empire to Galba, who after the death of Vindex carried on the contest. Rebellion spread to Rome, and Nero, abandoned by all, was forced to flee. The monster who had shed so much blood during his reign of terror, trembled in the face of death ; for a long time he endeavoured to save his life. “ What an artist the world is going to lose ! ” he cried. Eventually, however, he committed suicide, in the year 68 A.D.

This gloomy epoch was not without a certain military glory. During the reign of Claudius, a great part of the island of Britain was conquered, under Plautius ; during Nero’s reign, Suetonius completed the work of Plautius ; and, at the other extremity of the empire, Corbulo was victorious over the Germans and Parthians. During the reign of Nero, Queen Boadicea in Britain rose against the Romans, but the revolt was suppressed by Suetonius. It was the army, in fact, that had best resisted the general decadence.

Under the vigilance of Augustus and Tiberius, discipline had been rigidly maintained, the legions remained faithful, and the generals without ambition. But the moment arrived when soldiers and generals alike began to perceive that they were the real masters, and that they could make and unmake emperors at their pleasure.

Anarchy—Galba, Otho, Vitellius (68–69 A.D.).—This intervention of the army in government affairs commenced immediately after the death of Nero, and for a time seemed to menace the empire with complete destruction. Hardly had Galba been recognized by the legions of Spain, when those of the Rhine desired also to have their emperor, and civil war with all its attendant bloodshed worked terrible havoc in Gaul and Italy. Galba was dethroned (69), and replaced by Otho, and Otho by Vitellius, who triumphed over him at the battle of Bedriacum ; whilst the legions in Syria in their turn proclaimed Vespasian as Cæsar, and the latter’s supremacy at last secured to the world a few years of peace.

The Flavians—Vespasian (69–79 A.D.).—Vespasian knew no more than Augustus how to endow the empire with a constitution that would do away with all possibility of a future Caligula, Claudius, or Nero ; but he produced some order out of the chaos that existed when he came into power, and, on the whole, governed wisely and well. He regained obedience from the armies, who, having once

proved their power, were only too eager to exercise it again ; he suppressed the revolt of the Jews and that of the northern legions. That of the Jews was productive of no very great results, but it was notable for the bloody defence and final destruction of Jerusalem, and it lost the defeated, it is said, more than a million men. Judæa became a separate province of the Roman Empire ; the Jews were left without a settled home, and their dispersion began (70 A.D.). Another insurrection broke out in Gaul under Claudius Civilis. The whole country was stirred by the enthusiasm of the Druids, who said Rome's time was over and that of the Gallic Empire had arrived. But Civilis was defeated, obliged to give up his ambitious plans, and Gaul was pacified.

This rebellion witnessed an example of wifely devotion. Eponia, the wife of Sabinus, one of the chiefs of the movement, for nine years daily took food to her husband, who was buried in a subterranean passage. When Sabinus, at last discovered, was led to Rome, Eponia went and threw herself at the feet of the emperor. But Vespasian remained inflexible, and the courageous wife then demanded one last favour—that she might die with her husband.

Once again the empire enjoyed the benefits of a vigilant and honest administration. Vespasian has sometimes been accused of avarice ; but at his command many great works were executed in Rome and the provinces ; he had the Coliseum constructed, that immense circus which was able to contain 80,000 spectators ; he rebuilt towns destroyed by fires and earthquakes ; he founded numerous colonies. Upon all points he sought the opinions of the Senate, and placed men of integrity and ability at the head of the provinces. Simple in his bearing and daily life, laughing at flattery and flatterers, he merited the praise of Tacitus, who said of him, " It is the only prince whom power has rendered better."

Titus (79–81 A.D.).—His son Titus appears to have deserved the same tribute. His aim was to make himself beloved by the people. Cruel and debauched before he began to reign, when once he was in power he proved to be benevolent and kind, and his contemporaries have nothing but the warmest praise for him. He was called " The Delight of Mankind." But time did not admit of his virtue being put to any very severe test. Only two unfortunate events mark his short reign, a fire which destroyed several districts in Rome, and an eruption of Vesuvius which buried in ashes and molten lava the towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae (79 A.D.).

Domitian (81–96 A.D.).—The family of Vespasian, like that of Augustus, ended with a monster. Domitian, the younger brother of Titus, succeeded him. He was a worthy counterpart of Nero, only perhaps his cruel, gloomy, pitiless nature excited even more hatred.

All who were wise, honoured or respected in Rome, he treated as enemies.

Never had a more odious abuse been made of that *lèse majesté*, or law of treason which tortures the innocent with the guilty, all who are suspected of plotting against an emperor's life.

Domitian died by the hand of an assassin. Apart from his tyrannical excesses his reign is only marked by one event of importance—the completion of the conquest of the greater part of Britain by Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus.

Chapter VII

THE GOOD EMPERORS

The Antonines (96-192 A.D.)—Nerva (96-98 A.D.).

THE murderers of Domitian proclaimed an emperor, Nerva, and, in so doing, blessed the world with a century of repose. Nerva was already an old man ; time did not permit him to work himself for the happiness of the empire ; but he prepared the way for it in nominating Trajan as his successor. He died after a reign of two years.

Trajan (98-117 A.D.).—Trajan, the best general of the empire, was alone capable of subduing the prætorian guards. The prætorian guards, ten thousand in number, had been collected by Sejanus, the trusted adviser of Tiberius, in a fortified camp before the Viminal Gate. They originally formed the emperor's bodyguard, but since the accession of Claudius they had acquired great influence, and exercised their power in electing and casting down the emperors. The prætorians, who studied their own interests, were either the instruments of tyranny or the murderers of the great, and their demands were becoming daily more difficult to satisfy. Trajan re-established order in the army, and appeared, in short, to regard power as a sacred charge to be fulfilled for the best interests of all. His financial genius, much above the ordinary, and economical inclination, permitted him to conduct building operations on a large scale, and the beautiful Forum of Trajan, "Trajan's Column," and a great road from Euxinus to Gaul were among the works he accomplished even whilst he was reducing the taxes. As did Augustus in former days, he treated the Senate with the most respectful deference, consulting it upon all important affairs, and leaving to it a large share in the administration of the State.

Third Persecution of the Christians (102 A.D.).—History cannot, however, forgive the fact that Trajan was a persecutor of the Christians, whom he treated as rebels. Trajan took this attitude towards them because he regarded them as, firstly, in revolt against the religious laws of the empire in denying the gods ; secondly, in

revolt against the civil laws of the empire in having illegal reunions ; and, thirdly, in revolt against the proconsular authority, in refusing to obey its demands.

Wars of Trajan.—Unlike Augustus, Trajan considered it his duty to extend the territory of the empire. Two successful wars against the Dacians, on the left bank of the Danube, permitted him to extend its frontiers to the Theiss and Dniester. Vast territories were occupied by Roman or Italian columns.

Tempted by the glorious successes of Alexander, Trajan also made war in Asia. A first expedition against the Parthians secured him Armenia ; a second led him to Babylon ; and he brought under his subjection Mesopotamia and Assyria. But these difficult wars used up his strength ; and he died in Cilicia (117 A.D.) after a reign of nineteen years.

Hadrian (117–138 A.D.).—Hadrian, the adopted son of Trajan, did not inherit the latter's taste for war, but the army was never better organized than under this powerful emperor. In his hands it was an ever-ready weapon of defence, and not an instrument of conquest. Hadrian showed a great sympathy with the provinces. His reign, which was practically spent in journeying to the provinces, was for the provincials a period of happiness. Attentive to their needs, he visited them all, from Spain and Britain to Asia and Egypt, reforming abuses and superintending many great building operations. The Wall of Hadrian to the north of Britain, the Arena of Nîmes, the celebrated Pont du Gard, the Basilicas of Antioch and Ephesus, his own mausoleum in Rome to-day, the Castle of Saint-Angelo, and the bridge which connected it with Rome all date from this epoch. But it was Greece and the fatherland of Pericles that attracted the preference of this intelligent prince, passionately interested as he was in art and letters.

On at least one occasion, however, this taste for construction involved Hadrian in an impolitic enterprise ; he desired to have a Roman town rebuilt on the ruins of Jerusalem, and to erect a temple to Jupiter where the Temple of Jehovah had formerly stood. A terrible war followed this unheard of profanation. A revolt of the Jews broke out under the leadership of Barcochebas, the Son of the Star, who claimed to be the long-expected Messiah. They took up arms to defend their religion. The rebellion was, however, suppressed and ended in the dispersion of the people of Israel. During Hadrian's reign, Salvius Julianus collected the best part of the Roman law into a concise form. This collection is known as the Perpetual Edict.

Nevertheless, his excellent administration had not made Hadrian popular. People resented his numerous journeys, finding in them an

expression of his disdain for Rome. His peaceful policy was construed into cowardice ; people compared his government to the glorious rule of Trajan.

Antoninus Pius (138–161 A.D.).—Antoninus, the adopted son of Hadrian, also desired no other glory than that of peace. His reign was an untroubled epoch ; an epoch of calm and prosperity for Rome and the provinces alike. Antoninus's reign was a reign without events, and it affords little material to the historian. And yet he was a benefactor of humanity.

Marcus Aurelius (161–180 A.D.).—Marcus Aurelius, adopted by Antoninus, has even more claim than his predecessor to the admiration of posterity. In all the days of antiquity, no prince, no statesman can be compared to him for morality, mildness and goodness ; a philosopher by conscience, not by ostentation, in him were united all the virtues of the admirable school of the Stoics.

With admirable disinterestedness, he shared his power with Lucius Verus, his son-in-law and adopted brother. After the death of the latter, Marcus Aurelius, left in sole charge of the administration and defence of the empire, consecrated his life to this great task, which was rapidly becoming too much for human strength. A first expedition against the Marcomanni, in the basin of the Danube, terminated successfully ; but this painful war, conducted in a far-off, mountainous country, against people of indomitable courage, was always being recommenced. Marcus Aurelius, in delicate health, exhausted his failing strength in these incessant combats. He died at Vindobona (Vienna), on the Danube, in March 180. With him finished the century of the good emperors, which is undoubtedly one of the happiest in the history of the world. How much is it to be regretted that these emperors did not bequeath to Rome a solid constitution. Satisfied in securing temporary felicity, they did not think of the future.

Chapter VIII

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST

Commodus (180-192 A.D.)—The new Imperialism—Decline of the Empire.

WITH the reign of Commodus, the unworthy son of Marcus Aurelius, commenced a period of military anarchy. The new emperor, desirous of emulating Hercules, boasted that he was the first and strongest of the gladiators. After having horrified the world for twelve years by his hideous atrocities, Commodus was assassinated in the year 192.

The Military Anarchy (192-284).—During the century which followed, the empire was at the mercy of the armies. The prætorians of Rome and the armies of the frontiers proclaimed and massacred emperors as they chose. As to the princes, absolute masters of the lives and fortunes of 80,000,000 men, they themselves had some thousands of exacting masters, who at any moment might demand an account of the manner in which they had used their power.

Pertinax.—The murderers of Commodus proclaimed Pertinax, prefect of the city, emperor; the Senate and the prætorians confirmed the choice. But having displeased the soldiers, Pertinax was murdered, and Didius Julianus, who offered for the vacant throne the sum of 6,250 drachmas, was elected his successor.

Didius Julianus.—He reigned two months. The legions of the frontiers proclaimed their own emperors. Albinus was proclaimed in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and Septimius Severus in Pannonia. As Septimius Severus was the first to reach Rome, he secured the throne. Didius Julianus was declared a public enemy and put to death.

Septimius Severus (193-211).—Septimius Severus disbanded the prætorian guards, and organized a body of 40,000 soldiers in their stead. By reason of his cruelty he made himself feared even by the army. He compensated, however, in some respect, by his victories over the Parthians; he seized Seleucis and Ctesiphon. The

triumphal arch which bears his name records his virtues. Septimius Severus left two sons, Caracalla and Geta. The latter was assassinated by his elder brother, who ascended the throne.

Caracalla (211–217).—Caracalla is famous for his cruelties. Papinianus, the great Roman juris-consult, who refused to defend the emperor from the charge of fratricide, was put to death. Caracalla was assassinated and succeeded by two emperors in succession, Macrinus, the prefect of the guards, who reigned only a short time, and Bassianus, better known as Heliogabalus.

Heliogabalus (218–222).—This emperor introduced into Rome the luxury and the depravity of the East. He was in the habit of walking about in woman's attire, and formed a senate of women. He was killed by the soldiers, and Alexander Severus, his cousin, a boy of fourteen, was nominated as his successor.

Alexander Severus (222–235).—Alexander Severus, who was under the guidance of his mother, Mammæa, and his grandmother, Mæsia, endeavoured to follow the example of the good emperors. The great jurist Paulus, and Ulpianus, were his ministers and advisers. His expedition against the Persians, who had established a Persian Empire on the ruins of the Parthian kingdom, was successful. On hearing the news that the Germans had invaded Gaul, he hurried back to Rome, where he was killed in an insurrection. After the death of Alexander Severus the decline of the empire went on apace. In the course of nine years (235–244), six emperors occupied the throne. They were Maximinus Thrax, Gordianus I, Gordianus II, Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordianus III (238–244). Gordianus III was killed by Philippus Arabo, the prefect of the guard, who took his place.

Philippus (244–249).—During his reign the Goths appeared within the empire; they invaded Dacia, and crossed the Danube.

Decius (249–251).—Decius, who had succeeded Philippus, waged war against the invaders, and fell in a battle in Mæsia. Galbus (Gallus) his successor promised the barbarians an annual tribute.

Valerianus (253–260), who named his son Gallienus, or Cæsar, ascended the throne. His reign was marked by disasters. He fell into the hands of the Persian King Sapor near Edessa, was made prisoner, and died in captivity. His son Gallienus was a prince of good intentions, but little energy.

Gallienus (260–268).—During his reign numerous usurpers appeared in various parts of the empire, in Asia and Egypt, in Greece, and in Gaul. They are known as the "Thirty Tyrants." In the East Odenath had founded a new kingdom, the capital of which was Palmyra. It was ruled after the assassination of Odenath by his widow, Queen Zenobia.

The empire, which was on the verge of ruin, again recovered under the vigorous emperors who succeeded Gallienus. Claudius II (268–270), Aurelianus (270–275), Tacitus (275), Probus (276–282), and Carus (282–283) were successful in re-establishing the boundaries of the empire, and in delivering it from the barbarians. Aurelianus, who defeated Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, and put an end to her kingdom and subdued a Gallic usurper, merited the surname “The Restorer of the Empire.”

Probus (276–282) was victorious against the Germans, and regained for the empire the region between the Rhine and the Danube. But the armies were no longer desirous of obeying even a victorious general, and he was killed by his mutinous soldiers at Sirmium on the Save in Pannonia.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Diocletian (284–305)—*The Tetrarchy* (292).—With Diocletian commenced a new period in the history of the empire. The last remnants of the old Republic had disappeared, and the imperial monarchy could assert itself in broad day without fear of republican sentinels. It was no longer against the Senate that it had to defend itself, but against the armies, and the barbarians of the region between the Rhine and the Danube, who were daily becoming more and more emboldened by the military decadence of Rome, and even threatened an invasion of the empire. Already Marcus Aurelius and Probus, in the impossibility of recruiting legions, had been forced to take Germans into their pay. It had been necessary to settle entire tribes on the left bank of the lower Rhine to oppose the intruding wave of invasion. In 292 Diocletian thought to find in a division of power a remedy for the evils which menaced the very existence of the empire. He took as colleague his friend in arms, the General Maximian, who shared with him the dignity of emperor. Convinced, however, that even this division of power was not sufficient, the two emperors associated with themselves two assistants, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, who only received the title of Cæsar. Without abdicating his supreme authority Diocletian only kept the East for himself and lived at Nicomedia, whilst Maximian went to Milan to reign over Italy, Africa, and the islands; Galerius to Sirmium, to reign over the Illyrian provinces; Constantius Chlorus to Trèves, to reign over Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Mauretania. This government, known under the name of the Tetrarchy, for some time assured peace throughout the empire; each of these four princes re-establishing order in their respective States; but concord did not for long exist between them, and anarchy commenced.

Diocletian also wished to fortify the imperial authority by surrounding it with a sort of mysterious grandeur. The emperor was reinvested with the most pompous titles. He was called lord, master, majesty; his person was sacred. From henceforth he never appeared in public without an imposing escort of dignitaries and officials. But all this pomp, and these four courts that the empire, already over-burdened, had to maintain at the same time, weighed heavily on the finances, and helped further to weaken the empire. The tetrarchy did not last. Galerius, it is said, forced Diocletian and Maximian to abdicate; civil wars began anew, terminating after a period of twenty years by the victory of Constantine, son of Constantius.

Constantine the Great (306-337)—Edict of Milan (313).—Constantius, the son of Constantius Chlorus, and his successor in Gaul, at first governed this province and its two annexes, Britain and Spain, where his clever administration, his tolerance towards the Christians persecuted by other emperors, obtained for him numerous partisans. It was not until after he had conquered Maxentius, the son of Maximian, who reigned at Rome, and Ticinus, the successor of Galerius, who governed the East, that he became, in 326, the sole master of the empire.

During his fight against his rivals, Constantine, in recognition of the services of the Christians and to secure their devotion, issued the celebrated Edict of Milan, which proclaimed the liberty of their cult. When Constantine became sole ruler he recognized Christianity as the State religion. It was a revolution. For the first time the Church could hold its services openly; the Christians were able to confess their faith without being treated as rebels. Constantine crowned this work of justice by granting to the bishops "immunities," which constituted some precious privileges. But if he himself and some of his successors were the protectors of the Church, there were also oppressors among them. Constantine himself, after having permitted the meeting of the first Council-General at Nicæa (326), seemed, towards the end of his life, to favour the Arian heresy, which denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Founding of Constantinople (326).—Constantine accomplished one other revolution in giving to the empire a new capital. Rome, after having conquered the world, had lost her prestige since the time of Diocletian. Constantine definitely abandoned the old cradle of imperial power; in 326 he entirely rebuilt the Greek city of Byzantium, calling it, after his own name, Constantinople, and from the year 330 made it the seat of government. This was a happy choice: from a commercial standpoint the city was admirably situated, and having always been one of the richest cities in the world,

the grandeur of Constantinople has outlived a thousand years that of the Western capital.

The last years of Constantine were saddened by internal revolution. He had his son Crispus killed on the strength of wicked denunciations, and afterwards retrieved his error by slaying the really culpable person. He died in 337, at Nicomedia.

Decline of the Empire after Constantine—Julian the Apostate (361–363).—After the reign of Constantine the incapacity of the rulers, the disorder of the administration, and the attacks of the barbarians on the frontiers, rapidly paved the way for a final catastrophe. Constantine the Great had left the empire to his three sons—Constantine II, who received the West; Constantius, who had Asia and Egypt as his share; and Constans, who ruled over Italy and Africa. Discord soon broke out among the brothers. Constantine was defeated in a battle against his brother Constans and perished, whilst Constans himself was killed by the General Magnus Magnentius, who was proclaimed emperor by the Gallic troops. But Magnentius was defeated by Constantius, who remained sole monarch (353–360). He was succeeded by his cousin Julian the Apostate (361–363). The new emperor was a convert to paganism, and fascinated by heathen philosophy he formed the project of restoring the old religion. Although he avoided cruel persecution of the Christians he put restrictions on them, and hoped, by the support which he lent to pagan worship, to carry out his ideal, the ennoblement of the old religion adapted to modern needs. Julian Apostata failed in his endeavours, for Christianity had already taken deep root in the Roman world. The emperor died, still a young man, whilst fighting against the Parthians. He was succeeded by Jovian (363–364), who was a Christian and reversed all the changes of the Apostate.

Valentinian (364–375) was proclaimed emperor, and he associated with him his brother Valens as ruler of the empire (364–378).

Valentinian himself had his court at Milan and ruled the West, whilst Valens was emperor of the East, with his seat at Constantinople.

Valentinian fought against the Alemanni. He died in 375, and was followed by his sons Gratianus and Valentinianus II. During the reign of Valens in the East the Huns, a Mongolian tribe, crossed the Ural and penetrated into Europe. The gigantic movement known as the migration or wanderings of nations had begun.

Chapter IX

THE MIGRATIONS

Romans and Barbarians in the Fourth Century—Causes of the Fall of the Empire—
Financial Distress.

FOR two centuries the empire had maintained the peace of the world, but ruined in the third by a long anarchy it gradually lost its ancient vigour. The causes of its dissolution, at first scarcely apparent, became more and more disastrous in their effects, and less than a century after the death of Theodosius the Western empire succumbed, while the Eastern empire languished yet another thousand years.

One of the chief evils of Roman society in the fourth century was the financial distress. Commerce with Asia had drained the country of precious metals. India and China bought nothing in exchange for their coveted stuffs, silks, stones and spices, and meanwhile the European gold and silver mines were well-nigh exhausted. The court was another source of ruin: instead of one emperor there were two, and sometimes four, surrounded by courtiers and dignitaries, oriental luxury having replaced the simplicity of Augustus and Vespasian.

Ruin of the Middle Classes.—Riches were the privilege of a few, who lived luxuriously on their immense estates, in the enjoyment of special immunities. The nobles were almost entirely exempt from any pecuniary charges, the weight of which was crushing the middle classes. In every city the small proprietors, or "curiales," shared the weight of the taxes, and were responsible for insolvent taxpayers, who rapidly became more numerous. So hard was their lot that it became necessary to forbid them to enter the ranks of the army or clergy, and compel them to remain on their estates. An opulent and privileged aristocracy, a ruined middle class, a people condemned to misery through industrial decay, labourers and slaves, these constituted Roman society at the end of the fourth century.

Decadence of Patriotism.—Rome no longer inspired the beautiful examples of devotion which had marked the period of the Republic.

The establishment of the empire in preventing the citizens from taking any real part in the conduct of public affairs, had rendered them indifferent to anything but private interest. The spread of the Epicurean and Stoic doctrines further tended to the ruin of public spirit, and finally the Christians, who daily became more numerous, were far from giving unreserved devotion to the empire. They could not forget that the grandeur of Rome was founded on the old pagan religion, that the emperors were at the same time high priests. Even after the time of Constantine the Church was repelled by the imperial tradition which gave princes unlimited authority, both in spiritual and temporal matters. Early in the day she had represented the bishops as God's functionaries side by side with the imperial officers. Previous to the reign of Constantine the bishops of the big cities of the West were as powerful as the Catholic Greek and Armenian bishops are in Turkey at this day. In the fifth century they were nearly everywhere styled "The defenders of the city," and under this title they enjoyed the highest privileges of the imperial magistrates. They were the real masters of Gaul at the moment when the barbarians were about to give their final blow to the imperial power.

Disorganization of the Army.—The ancient military organization had helped to retard the long-threatened dissolution, but the admirable discipline of the Roman armies had deteriorated. By dint of making and deposing emperors, the habit of obedience was lost. The custom had crept in of replacing the citizens, who left their peaceful duties regretfully, by German mercenaries, who were brave, well-disciplined and faithful, but who demanded a high price. They were given regular pay or lands for themselves and their families in the empire. Probus, and after him many others, established whole tribes on the frontiers, where defence was necessary. As to the Roman legions, to make military service easier they were no longer stationed on the frontiers, but in the interior of the empire, and what remained of discipline quickly perished. The army was thus falling into decay at the very moment when the barbarians were preparing a fierce attack.

The Germans, their Customs.—We have seen how after the death of Jovian the empire was divided between Valens, who governed the East, and Valentinian who ruled over the West. During the rule of these two emperors barbarian tribes coming in hordes from north, south and east began to press almost simultaneously against the barriers of the empire.

The most serious danger came from the north. The Teutonic or German tribes, the Alani, Suevi, Burgundians, and the Goths were overspreading the Roman territories. These barbarians were

different from the Roman inhabitants. Tacitus drew a picture of Germany, in the second century after Christ, which contains well-nigh all that we know of that country and its inhabitants until they invaded the Roman Empire. He describes them as a warlike people, divided into numerous tribes often displaced by the chances of war, an almost inexhaustible mass of adventurers and soldiers, always eager to group themselves round a chief who promised glory or booty. Tacitus praises some of their virtues: They were generally moral, respected womanhood, were faithful to the oath, and had a certain love of independence, but they possessed the usual vices of intemperance, a frenzied love of gambling and brutal and cruel customs. From their contact with Roman civilization they acquired merely the vices of the latter. Their religion originally resembled that of the people in Gaul and Italy.

Continually driven back, the Germans incessantly appeared on the frontiers in armed bands seeking booty, and sometimes whole tribes would beseech permission to settle in the Imperial States. Many were thus established on the left bank of the Rhine to guard the river. Numbers enrolled themselves under the Roman Eagle. When the Visigoths entered the imperial domains they undertook to obey any laws and orders, and even to change their religion. As to the barbarian soldiers, in spite of their love of pillage they never betrayed the country that paid them. Alaric, Clovis, Theodoric were flattered to receive the title of Master of the Roman Militia.

Whilst the Germans crossed the Rhine and invaded the Roman provinces, the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain and the island left to itself. The Picts broke through the wall of Antoninus, took possession of the island and pillaged the cities. The inhabitants called to their aid the pirates of the Northern seas, the Angles and Saxons, who under Hengist and Horsa drove back the invaders and established an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom.

The great plains of Eastern Europe were inhabited by the Slavs, who, like the Germanic race, were called to a glorious future; they were in the first place, however, to be subject on more than one occasion to the domination of those Asiatic hordes of Mongols and Tartars, whose customs frightened the Teutonic barbarians themselves. It was the invasions of the Huns which determined the overthrow of the Germanic races, who, flying from these, sought refuge in the empire.

The Germans in the Empire.—Valentinian I had died 375, leaving the West under the control of his two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II, whilst Valens continued to rule the East. Soon after the death of the valiant Valentinian I, a great danger threatened the empire. The Huns, a wild nomadic people, coming from the steppes of Central Asia,

invaded the territory of the Goths between the Danube and the Dnieper. The Ostrogoths, or Oriental Goths, east of the Dnieper submitted, and their King Hermanric died by his own hands, whilst the Visigoths, or Western Goths, fled towards the Danube. They had been converted to Christianity by Bishop Ulphilas and now came flying before the enemy and begged for permission from Valens to cross the Danube and to find an asylum on Roman territory. The request was granted, and under Tritigern and Alavivus the Visigoths settled in Mœsia. They had volunteered to lay down their arms, but owing to the negligence of the officers of Valens were allowed to retain them. Soon the avarice of the imperial government gave them cause for revolt. They ravaged Thrace and Macedonia. In the battle of Adrianople they defeated the Roman army and Valens himself perished, meeting his death at the hands of the barbarians. Gratian, who was fighting the Alemanni near Colmar, chose his general Theodosius as ruler of the East. Theodosius reduced the Goths to submission, incorporated many of them in the army and settled the rest in Thrace and Mœsia. A few years later forty thousand warriors were received into the imperial service. A clever general and firm administrator, Theodosius secured for the East the benefits of order and peace, but the West remained a prey to anarchy.

In 383 Gratian was overthrown by Maximus and put to death. Valentinian II fled to Theodosius, who brought him back to Italy, after having put Maximus to death at Aquileia (388). He then appointed Arbogast as the principal adviser of Valentinian, and commissioned the former to protect the West against the Alemanni.

Valentinian, wearied of his state of dependence, endeavoured to get rid of Arbogast, but was killed by the latter in 392. Eugenius was proclaimed emperor, but Theodosius refused to acknowledge him. He defeated Eugenius, and Arbogast once more united the empire under one head.

Theodosius, much attached to orthodoxy, showed himself hostile to the pagans and vigorously opposed the Arian heresy which was then agitating the whole of the East ; but he afforded a great example of Christian humility. In 390, having crushed a revolt of the inhabitants of Thessalonica with sanguinary cruelty, he allowed himself to be excluded from the communion of the faithful by Saint Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, permitting the courageous bishop to reproach him before the assembled people with the horror of his crime, and submitting to a public penance.

Definite Division of the Empire (395).—On the death of Theodosius in 395, his two sons divided the empire between them,

Arcadius taking the East, and Honorius the West. But these imposing titles, Emperor of the East and Emperor of the West, were no longer consistent with the real state of affairs. The feeble princes, under whose names ministers ruled in Constantinople and Ravenna, saw their provinces vanishing one after the other, as the barbarians boldly pushed their way into the very heart of the empire. The Western empire survived less than a century after the death of Theodosius (476). Thanks to the strength of its capital, the Eastern empire dragged out its miserable existence for more than a thousand years ; it only succumbed, in 1453, to the assaults of the Turks of the Ottoman Empire.

FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

Invasion of Italy by the Goths.—At his death Theodosius left the East and Illyria to his son Arcadius, whose councillor was the Gaul Rufinus, whilst the West was ruled by Honorius under the guidance of the Vandal Stilicho. Rivalry between Rufinus and Stilicho induced the former to incite Alaric, king of the Western Goths, to invade the Western Empire. The Goths marched through Thessaly, Central Greece, and led by Alaric pillaged Greece and Italy. Stilicho, however, carried off a splendid victory over Alaric at Pollentia and Verona (402–403), and the king of the Goths retreated upon Illyria. Scarcely had this danger been averted, when other hordes of pagan Germans, the Vandals, Burgundians and Suevi, bursting forth from the depths of the German forests invaded Italy. The barbarian hordes were led by Duke Radagaisus, and carried devastation and slaughter along with them. They advanced as far as Florence, but here Stilicho defeated the enemy and forced them to surrender. Soon, however, the brave Stilicho was accused of high treason and executed at Ravenna.

Capture of Rome by Alaric.—Alaric, who had been biding his time, was appealed to by Stilicho's friends ; he forthwith marched into Italy, and led his army to the gates of Rome. But as the court of Ravenna refused to accept Alaric's proposals of peace, the king of the Goths stormed the former mistress of the world, and surrendered the city to be sacked and pillaged for six days and nights.

Death of Alaric.—Alaric now led his armies southward with the intention of subduing Sicily before crossing over to Africa. But death, which overtook him at Cosenza, frustrated his plans. The Goths, so legend relates, are supposed to have diverted the stream Busento, and to have buried the coffin and the treasures of their great and heroic king in its bed.

After Alaric's death the Goths submitted to Honorius, and their

King Adolphus accepted the mission to proceed to Gaul and Spain to overthrow the usurpers. In reward for his success he received the government of Aquitania, and his successor Wallia founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in Southern Gaul with Toulonsi as the capital.

The Great Invasion.—At the beginning of the fifth century, the barbarian hordes, pressed by the Huns, poured their hosts into the Roman provinces. From east to west the people fought in horrible confusion. The Suevi, the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Alani, crossed the frontiers of the empire, the Alps and the Rhine. Honorius in alarm had concentrated all his forces in Italy; the Suevi who penetrated the latter country were routed, but others were more successful. Gaul was open to them, the towns without defenders. From the Rhine to the Loire they carried all before them, ill-treating the inhabitants, and ravaging the country. "If the Ocean had inundated Gaul," said St. Jerome, "it would have done less damage." The barbarians crossed the Loire, then the Pyrenees.

The Suevi and the Alani established themselves in Spain, the Burgundians remained in South-Eastern Gaul, their kingdom, like that of the Visigoths, remaining for a long period under the nominal sovereignty of the emperor.

The Conquest of Africa by the Vandals—Rome Sacked by the Barbarians.—Honorius had been succeeded by Valentinian III (423-455). The latter was only six years old and the government was carried on by his mother Placidia, a sister of Honorius and a daughter of Theodosius. Count Boniface, governor of Northern Africa, who had been living in enmity with Valentinian's minister Artius, called to his assistance Genseric, the king of the Vandals. The latter at once marched from Spain, overcame Boniface, who had repented of his rash act and opposed him, in a bloody battle, captured Hippo, and established the African kingdom of the Vandals with the capital Carthage. Genseric then conquered Sicily and the Balearic Islands, and sacked Rome in 455. For fourteen days the barbarians pillaged the city, stripped the palaces of costly furniture and ornaments, and carried away with them everything of value in Rome. More than 30,000 of the inhabitants were dragged away as slaves. Genseric died in 477, and the kingdom he had formed existed another fifty-seven years, until it was conquered by the Eastern Empire.

The Barbarian Kingdoms.—Thus at the beginning of the fifth century several barbarian kingdoms had arisen within the boundaries of the empire. In Spain and Southern Gaul the Visigoths had established a kingdom which lasted from 415-711, when it was overturned by the Saracens. The kingdom of the Burgundians

was settled in South-Eastern Gaul, and that of the Vandals (429–533) had been established in North Africa. In the Asturias Hermanric had organized the kingdom of the Suevi (419), but it was soon absorbed by that of the Visigoths (585). In Britain an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom had been established in 449.

Attila (451).—All these barbarians who were overrunning the empire were, however, themselves terrified by a more dangerous foe. This was Attila, leader of the Huns. Scythians, Huns, Tartars, Mongols, led by Attila, marched upon Gaul, the immense army being recruited on the march by the ruined tribes, whose only resource was pillage. Attila boasted that grass no longer grew where his horse passed, he called himself the “Scourge of God,” the instrument chosen to punish the crimes of mankind. All the towns of Northern Gaul were put to fire and sword; Attila at last crossed the Seine and laid siege to the city of Orleans. But the Roman general Aetius, who had gathered an army of Romans, Visigoths, Saxons and Burgundians, met the king of the Huns near Châlons, where a decisive battle was fought (451). Attila was defeated and retreated across the Rhine. A year later he invaded Italy and destroyed many cities. The inhabitants of Aquillia escaped to the lagoons of the Adriatic, where they built new homes on the islets, thus laying the foundations of Venice.

Fall of the Roman Empire in the West (476).—From the death of Theodosius the emperor’s authority over the ancient provinces was merely nominal. In Italy itself the German chiefs, in the imperial pay, although hesitating to assume the purple themselves, made the laws raising and deposing the emperors. Valentinian III was followed by Maximus and Aritus in succession, and in 457 Count Ricimer the Goth, military chief of the German mercenaries, who had received the Roman title of “Patrician” and was the Regent of the West, raised the senator Majorian (457–461) to the throne. Another leader, however, Orestes, placed his own son Romulus, a boy of six, on the throne of the Cæsars. The child is known as the little Augustus, or Romulus Augustulus. At last, however, Odoacer, chief of the Heruli and Rugii, grew impatient of this appearance of subjection, caused the Senate to declare that one emperor was sufficient for the East and West, and sent the imperial insignia to the Emperor Zeno in Constantinople (476). Romulus Augustulus was dethroned and Odoacer received the title of patrician and governed Italy in the name of the Eastern Emperor. Thus the Roman Empire of the West, which had existed for 1,229 years since the foundation of Rome, had come to an end, and Italy was henceforth only a province of the Eastern Empire.

PART III
MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

INTRODUCTORY

THE year 476 A.D. is usually considered as the date of the Fall of the Roman Empire, the beginning of Mediæval History. In reality, however, whilst the Roman Empire had been crumbling to pieces for some time, the men who lived at that period attached little significance to the date 476 as being the starting-point of a new age. For them the Roman Empire still existed in the East, and the successor of the Cæsars reigned at Constantinople. And indeed, for several centuries after Cæsar had put an end to the line of Western Emperors, the Emperor of Constantinople was considered chief of the Western world.

On the contrary, to the men living in the fifth and sixth centuries the unity of the Roman Empire, which had been divided by Theodosius in 395, seemed to have been re-established in 476. The Kings of the West, ruling in the German States, established in Gaul, Spain and Italy, recognized the successors of the Cæsars in Constantinople as their masters. But this unity after all existed only in idea, for in reality the barbarian kingdoms which the German chieftains had established within the empire were independent. The first German States in Europe were, however, of short duration. We shall see the kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths, of the Vandals and the Lombards come and go ; we shall see the Franks establish a permanent realm, and Charlemagne set up a new Empire of the West, including most of the kingdoms of the ancient Western Empire, whilst that of the East will gradually take the form of an oriental State. Losing all hope of ever becoming again universal, the Eastern or Byzantine Empire will reconcile itself to its fate, dragging on its existence till the year 1453.

The centuries which elapsed between the years 476 and 1492, the date of the discovery of America, are known as the Middle Ages. They are divided into two periods, the Dark Ages and the Age of Revival. During the Dark Ages, or the earlier Middle Ages, from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, we see Europe gradually emerging from the barbarian chaos and dominated by Teutonic influences ; we witness the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire. After the death of Charles the Great, this New Empire is broken up, and Europe

again passes through troublous times ; Feudalism triumphs. During the later Middle Ages, *i. e.* from the beginning of the eleventh century, we see the decline of feudalism, the slow but sure progress towards unity and a centralized government, the fusion of the cities and communes into great nations, the growth and development of the states and kingdoms of Western Europe and the establishment of strong monarchies. The period extending from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries is also taken up with the great struggle between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers, Papacy and the Empire. After its period of triumph, from the beginning of the Crusades to the thirteenth century, we witness the rapid decline of Papacy and its moral ruin in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, culminating in the Protestant Reformation, which shook the very foundations of the Papal Power. The Reformation and the Renaissance mark the end of Mediæval and the beginning of Modern Europe.

The Middle Ages have been considered by many historians as a period of darkness, misery and barbarism, whilst others, under the influence of Catholicism, look upon the centuries which elapsed between the division of the Empire (395) and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) as the golden age of religion and art. What the Middle Ages really represent is a period of transition, a transition from the culture and civilization of antiquity to those of modern times, from the conception of the Roman World Empire to the present system of national governments and states. The old order changeth slowly and gradually, making way for the new. On the ruins of the ancient civilization a new one is developed. Humanity undergoes a thorough change, politically, socially and economically ; religion, morals, art and science are radically reformed, and the human spirit itself is subject to modifications. New races enter the arena of history and new factors arise, which model and shape events and the destinies of humanity. Paganism is crushed in the West and in the East alike ; here it is replaced by Christianity and there by Islam. But from beneath the ruins of the ancient world many institutions of a by-gone civilization are saved. These the new masters adopt and develop into new forms of life. The Germans, the development of whose influence in the West is one of the salient features of the Middle Ages, make the acquaintance of Roman institutions, and a fusion of Teutonic and Roman elements is the result. Out of this fusion of Roman and German ideas and conceptions of life and the striving after political and religious unity there arise the two great mediæval powers—Empire and Papacy—disputing the supremacy. Empire and Papacy, crusades and feudalism, gave rise to new institutions, new conceptions of life. The riches flowing into the European cities during the

Crusades, and the acquaintance of the Crusaders with the culture and civilization of the East, again heighten and strengthen the feeling of independence of the citizens, encourage commerce and industry, and raise the level of European education, giving a new stimulus to the intellectual development of the Middle Ages. A new literature and a new art arise, national languages and literatures grow and develop, and new forms of philosophy and of poetry are cultivated. In short, mediæval civilization takes shape and form. Of this, however, we shall treat in a subsequent chapter.

Chapter I

THE BARBARIAN KINGDOMS

The Kingdom of the Ostrogoths—Theodoric—The Franks—Clovis—The Merovingians
—Influence of the Invasions upon the Roman World—System of Property—Condition
of the People—Legislation—Ordeals.

The Kingdom of the Ostrogoths—Theodoric (c. 500).

IN 493 the kingdom of the Heruli, founded by Odoacer, was replaced by that of the Ostrogoths. At the head of 200,000 men fit for war, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, marched from the Danube upon Italy. Odoacer was defeated at Verona, and took shelter behind the walls of Ravenna, which he was compelled to surrender after a gallant defence lasting three years. He was killed a few days later at a banquet by Theodoric himself. The latter, now made "King of Italy" by the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius, ruled wisely and justly from Ravenna over the new empire of the Ostrogoths, which extended from the southern point of Sicily to the Danube. Theodoric, though he had been educated at the court of Constantinople, and had conquered Italy in the name of the emperor, had little respect for his ancient masters. He was one of the most powerful and most independent of the kings of the empire. His contemporaries surnamed him the Great, a name he deserved, not only from the extent of his empire, but also for his able and enlightened government in those barbaric times. For even literature and civilization enjoyed his protection, and men like the historian Cassiodorus, who wrote a history of the Goths in twelve volumes, occupied the highest offices of State. Theodoric's reign was an endeavour to unite the old and the new elements, and to rule under the old institutions. Shortly before his death, however, his sense of justice and wisdom gave way to suspicion and cruelty, and in such a frame of mind he ordered the execution of the famous senator Boethius and of his father-in-law Symmachus. The former wrote his famous work, *Consolation of Philosophy*, whilst in prison.

The Franks.—A few years before Theodoric came into Italy the Salian Franks had settled on Roman soil. They were a tribe of

German origin, and lived at the mouth of the Rhine. Gradually, however, they began to spread toward the south and the west, and passed the rivers Meuse and Somme. In 486 they began an active warfare against the Roman garrison in Gaul. The Franks, who afterwards gave a new name to Gaul and formed the nucleus of the French nation, did not differ in any great degree from the other Teutonic tribes, but they were considered to be more warlike. "They were born with a great love of war, they are brought up with the same passion, and to retreat in battle is unknown to them. If they are worsted, through their enemy's superiority in numbers or through a disadvantageous position, they never succumb to fear, they die, but they are not vanquished." They possessed a well-defined legal system, the famous "Salic law" and a strong royal power.

Their kings, as those of the Burgundians, were also imperial officers. The imperial authority, nominally still supreme, had in theory given place in most of the provinces to the power of the Frankish chiefs. Nevertheless in face of a common danger the different peoples grouped themselves round Aetius, sent by the emperor to give battle to the all-powerful Attila.

It was their King Clovis (Chlodwig, Louis) who led the Franks to war and plunder, and began the great conquest in Gaul.

The Merovingians.—Clovis I (481–511), son of Childeric I, became king of the Franks in 481, when only fifteen years of age. In 486 he began his series of conquests, when at the head of 5,000 or 6,000 warriors he defeated Syagrius, the last Roman governor in Central Gaul, and seized his capital Soissons. He was still a pagan, but neglected no occasion of showing respect to the Christian religion, and was a friend of St. Remi, archbishop of Rheims.

Conversion of the Franks (496).—Clovis had married Clotilda, niece of Gondeband, king of the Burgundians. She was a Christian, and had frequently urged him to abandon paganism. According to Gregory of Tours, chief chronicler of this period, a victory that Clovis won at Tolbiacum (or Zulpich)¹ over the Alemanni appeared to the king due to divine protection, and he decided to receive baptism. Three thousand nobles followed his example. Thus, whilst all the other German tribes had been converted to Arian Christianity, the Franks had become Catholic Christians, an event which was bound to have far-reaching consequences in the future. The most important result of this event was the understanding which sprang up between the popes, or the bishops of Rome, and the Frankish rulers. Papacy and the Frankish kingdom gradually formed an intimate alliance upon which the shaping of the history of Europe greatly depended. The savage heart of Clovis was,

¹ Near Strassburg.

however, little softened by the teaching of Christianity. He defeated Gundobald, the Burgundian king, near Dijon, won a victory over the Visigoths near Vouillé, and made himself master of the lands of Aquitaine between the Loire and the Garonne. Having thus extended his authority over the greater part of Gaul, Clovis put to death the chiefs of the other Frankish tribes, thus securing to himself and his posterity the whole territory.

Clovis died in 511, and his kingdom was divided among his four sons. Thierry reigned at Metz, Clodomir at Orleans, Childebert at Paris, and Clotaire at Soissons. The wickedness of the father was inherited by the sons, and the entire history of the Merovingian house represents a picture of depravity. The annals of their history are full of foul murders, of assassinations of relatives, and of bloody passions. The history, especially of the implacable rivalry of two women, Brunhilda, wife of Sigebert, and Fredegonda, wife of Chilperic, is the chief point of interest in the history of the Franks for the next quarter of a century. Fredegonda would seem to be the evil genius of the Merovingian race. She caused the death of her enemy Sigebert, of her husband Chilperic, and of several other princes.

Brunhilda was greatly superior to her rival, both in culture and in her genius for governing. She built monasteries and favoured the propagation of civilization.

At last the horrors, misrule and discord had destroyed all the power of the Merovingian kings, so that they became utterly inefficient and feeble. They are known in history as the sluggish or do-nothing kings, whilst all the powers of government were usurped by an ambitious officer, the steward of the royal possessions, Major Domus, or mayor of the palace. This officer was the most important person in the Frankish court. A struggle for supremacy had thus begun between the kings and these masters of the palace, and continued for a century, ending in the victory of the latter. One of these officers, Pepin of Heristal, succeeded in uniting the mayoralties of all the four Frankish kingdoms, and making them hereditary in his own family. His descendants were called the Dukes of Franconia, until at last one of them dethroned his imbecile master and founded a new monarchy, that of the Carolingians.

Influence of the Invasions upon the Roman World.—The armies of Teutons who established kingdoms within the empire during the fifth and sixth centuries, were not sufficiently numerous to transform the populations, nor even to impose their speech, customs and religion on the vanquished, but on the contrary they would seem to have themselves adopted the Gallic-Roman customs.

Gradually the two elements, the Roman and the Teutonic, became

quite intimately blended. Instead of destroying the civilization which they found, the barbarians on the contrary utilized the ruins in their construction of a new society. We shall treat of the fusion of the two civilizations in a special chapter. Here a few general remarks on the customs and laws of the invaders will suffice.

System of Property—Freehold and Benefices.—The land was held in Gaul at this period either in freehold or as benefices. The original population had not been systematically stripped of its lands; and with some exceptions, without doubt numerous at that period of violence, the landlords remained in possession of their estates. It was the immense lands belonging to the imperial treasury which fell a prey to the conquerors. The freeholds were exempt from taxes, the landlords owing military service only to the State; but the owners of benefices received their lands as a gift and were less independent, having certain duties to perform, and enjoying only what the land yielded.

Condition of the People.—The invasions had not made of the Gallic-Romans an inferior race under the dominant Teutonic race; the classification of the people during the seventh century was not founded on nationality: there were freemen, men of limited freedom, and slaves irrespective of race. Among the freemen there were distinctions of rank; German society was not more democratic than was the Roman. From the commencement of the Frankish monarchy the aristocracy was powerful and daily became more so. The men of limited freedom were the most numerous class, composed of the Gallic-Roman and German labourers, who cultivated the lands of the rich and could not leave the estate to which they were attached, or the lord on whom they depended. The slaves were still numerous, though their miserable condition had been somewhat ameliorated, and emancipations had become more frequent owing to the influence of Christianity.

Legislation.—One curious result of the invasions was that every race was judged according to a different law, thus the Gallic-Romans were subject to the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, the Burgundians to the *Loi Gombette*, the Franks to the *Salic law*, and so on. The legislation was, above all, penal; the *Salic law*, in particular, is merely a collection of rules to determine the penalty applicable to criminal offences. The penalty varied in accordance with the rank of the offender and of the victim. The freeman did not receive the same punishment as the slave, though the offence might be the same. Sentence of death was passed without demur on the slave, but for the freeman there would seem to be but the one penalty: the pecuniary settlement of *Wergeld* or *Weregeld*, being the price of blood paid to the victim or his family.

Justice was administered by the court, assisted by a certain number of rich men, and it is generally agreed that the judgment of a man by his peers is the origin of our modern jury.

Ordeals.—There was also the trial by ordeal, or judgment of God, the accused being subjected to various dangerous or painful tests, which he would perform unscathed if he were innocent. The most common forms of the ordeal consisted in plunging the arm into fire or hot water, carrying hot iron, or eating of the consecrated host. This popular belief that Providence would not allow an innocent man to perish also gave rise to the trial by duel between the accused and his accuser.

Government.—The government was an hereditary monarchy; the kings endeavoured to revive the traditional absolutism of the Roman Empire. The *Champs de Mars*, which assembled in the spring, were re-unions of the army rather than political assemblies, and there is no sign that any national assembly ever fought for the rights of the nation against the royal encroachments.

The government of the Merovingians was modelled on that of the emperors. The central administration, the palace, consisted of a number of employees and functionaries, the chief being the ministers and the counts. Over all was the mayor of the palace, whose authority gradually supplanted that of the nominal king. The provincial administration lay in the hands of the dukes and counts, appointed by the king; nor is there any sign of popular election, nothing in fact to confirm the vaunted spirit of independence supposed to be a trait of the German race.

Chapter II

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND THE LOMBARDS

Justinian—Wars against the Persians—Belisarius—The Ostrogoths—The Vandals—
Justinian's Administration—The Lombards.

WHILST the West was gradually recovering from the storms of the migrations of peoples and the invasions, and was working its way towards a religious and social unity of the various national elements, the East remained in a state of decay and degeneration, into which it had been plunged immediately after the foundation of the new capital.

Justinian (528–565).—After the death of Theodosius the decadence of the Eastern empire became more and more marked. Women and favourites ruled, raised and dethroned weak and vicious emperors. The reign of Justinian I (528–565), coming after a long series of incapable princes, had a certain appearance of grandeur which barely disguised the weakness of the empire, torn by religious and civil wars and palace revolutions.

The success of Justinian's wars lent an appearance of power to the empire. Not content with defending his territory against the invaders, he seems to a certain extent to have re-established the empire of the first Cæsars.

In Asia the war against the Persians was indecisive. Chosroes the Great penetrated as far as Antioch, while Belisarius, Justinian's general, reached the Tigris. Finally a treaty was concluded: the emperor, in return for certain concessions, engaging to pay a species of tribute to the Persians. Belisarius, however, succeeded in subduing the kingdoms of the Vandals in Africa, and of the Ostrogoths in Italy; Justinian had formed the plan to restore his empire to the same position it had possessed under Constantine.

Belisarius attacked the Vandals in Africa, who, since the death of their great king Genseric, could scarcely withstand the Moors. Their last king, Gelimer, was vanquished and ended his days as a prisoner at Constantinople. But Belisarius, who had in the meantime incurred the displeasure of Justinian, is said when an old blind

man to have supported his life by begging. The whole of Northern Africa once more formed part of the empire.

The Ostrogoths defended themselves better than the Vandals, but were finally driven from Rome by Belisarius. They were Arians, and consequently hated by the Catholics of Italy. Their empire was finally destroyed by Narses, Belisarius' successor, and in 551 Justinian's authority was recognized throughout Italy, Narses, as the emperor's lieutenant, ruling the country from Ravenna. The Visigoths of Spain were in their turn conquered by the patrician Liberius, who occupied the whole coast of the peninsula from Carthagera to Lagos (554).

Legislature.—But Justinian's greatness rests not only upon his conquests, but also upon his graceful achievements. The codification of the laws is the great glory of this reign. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the Pandects, the Justinian code, however, is not free from the principles of imperial despotism and the maxim "Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem" is well developed in it.

His Administration.—Justinian also erected many fortresses along the frontiers, and large buildings, the most celebrated of which is the Church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople. But his weakness was shown in various ways. He allowed his wife to exercise a shameful influence over the government, and his well-known gratitude to Belisarius has been referred to above. Though his dominions extended from Armenia to the Atlantic he could not maintain peace within his own capital. Besides the factions of the Blues and the Greens, the two great parties in the race-courses, supporters of the blue or green chariots of the circus, theological quarrels frequently disturbed the reign of Justinian and his successors. The factions of the Blues and Greens were quelled by Belisarius and Narses, but not before 30,000 persons had perished.

Weakness of the Eastern Empire—The Reign of Heraclius (610–641).—After Justinian's death there was nothing to check the decadence of the empire, the only reign worthy of note is that of Heraclius (610–641). It was at first marked by great successes over the Avars and Persians, but the Arabs proved a more powerful foe, and through them Syria and Egypt were lost.

Establishment of the Lombards.—Italy, Justinian's most important conquest, was already lost. In 568 a Germanic tribe, the Longobards, invaded the country commanded by Alboin, and established a new kingdom from the Alps to Sicily. Pavia was erected into the capital of the new kingdom. Alboin died by the vengeance of his wife, the beautiful Rosamunda. Almost the sole incident worthy of note in the history of the Longobards is their conversion to Christianity.

In dwelling upon the vices of the Eastern empire one must not

forget that it was the only guardian of the precious traditions of Greece and Rome in the Middle Ages, and that between Moham-medan Asia and semi-barbarous Europe it became the only channel for the perpetuation of civilization. With the arms of diplomacy, religion and civilization Byzantium kept the barbarians in check for ten centuries after the fall of the Western empire. In spite of the depravity of morals and the revolting wars which characterize its history during the Middle Ages, Constantinople remained the seat of learning and refinement for ten centuries.

Chapter III

MOHAMMED AND THE ARABS

Arabia before Mohammed—Mohammed—The Koran—The Caliphs—The Ommiades—
Conquest of Africa—The Abbassides—The Glory of the Arabian Civilization.

Arabia before Mohammed.

WHILE the Franks were gathering their forces thanks to the vigorous policy of the dukes of Franconia, especially of Charles Martel, a new power was arising in the East. A mighty conflict was at hand, a conflict in which once more the East and the West were to measure strength. The Christian rulers of the West were called upon to resist the wave of oriental conquest that swept from the Red Sea to the Pyrenees. Europe was threatened by the followers of Mohammed, who had founded a new religion in Arabia.

Separated from Asia by immense deserts Arabia, by its geographical position, remained isolated from the general history of the world until she herself became victor, and extended her dominions to the Ganges and the Pyrenees.

At the commencement of the seventh century the country was divided among independent nomadic and stationary tribes, in a continual state of warfare one with the other. Neither was there religious unity : disciples of Zoroaster, Jews and Christians, who had fled from the persecutions of the empire were to be found side by side in Arabia. The pagans and idolaters were, however, more numerous than any others. The chief temple was the Caaba at Mecca, where a black stone, the care of which was entrusted to the priestly tribe of the Koreishites, served as a national palladium. It was in the midst of this people that Mohammed, the founder of Islam, was born.

Mohammed (569-632).—Mohammed came of a noble but impoverished family, and was at first a driver of caravans. Later he espoused a rich widow, Khadija, and was able to devote his life to meditation, but it was not until he had reached the age of forty (610)

that he began to preach Islam, and came forth with his doctrine—"There is but one God and Mohammed is His prophet." He maintained that he had been taken up to heaven by the archangel Gabriel, and had received his mission from God. His doctrine is in great part founded on the Bible, in which he was well versed. He was driven out of Mecca by the Koreishites and took refuge in Yatrib, which thenceforward was known as Medina, or the "prophet's town." The Moslem era commences with this flight, or hegira, which took place in 622.

After several years of war Mohammed compelled the Koreishites to acknowledge his sacred mission, and the rest of Arabia, willingly or otherwise, was compelled to follow suit. The prophet died in 632, after a great pilgrimage in which he led 114,000 Moslems. Many conversions were due to political motives and to the brilliant promises held out by the prophet.

The Koran.—The Koran, or Holy Book, containing the new doctrine, was written after Mohammed's death, from a multitude of sayings dictated by the prophet. It contains many beautiful passages, characterized by his poetical imagination, many other passages are, however, manifestly drawn from the Bible. The Moslem fatalism, though perhaps not actually taught in the Koran, is an inevitable result of their creed, with its fatalistic motto—"It is written," whereby free will is paralyzed. The Koran permits polygamy and divorce but punishes adultery. It teaches the inferiority of woman to man, it forbids the use of wine and swine's flesh, and commands frequent ablutions and prayers, circumcision, almsgiving and pilgrimages to Mecca. Islam, so the Koran teaches, ought to be diffused by all possible means, and the nations must be compelled by fire and sword to receive it. To stimulate the zeal of the Moslems in propagating the new doctrine, Mohammed taught that all those who fell bravely in battle would enjoy a paradise full of materialistic and sensual pleasures.

The Caliphs (632-660).—On the death of the prophet the majority of the Moslems acknowledged Abu-bekr, his father-in-law, as his vicar or caliph, but some declared in favour of Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law and first disciple. A fierce war waged for a long time between the Shiites, partisans of Ali, and the Sunnites or Orthodoxes, partisans of Abu-bekr; to this day a mortal hatred exists between the Turks and Arabians, who are Sunnites, and the Persians, who are Shiites. Abu-bekr (632-634) was succeeded by the energetic Omar (634-644).

Conquest of Syria (638) and Egypt (640).—The Arabian conquests commenced from the death of Mohammed. Circumstances were eminently favourable to the foundation of a new empire; in the East both the Persians and the Greeks of Constantinople were

exhausted by wars, the Arabs therefore had neither to encounter any strong military organization or ardent religious convictions, which explains the prodigious rapidity of their conquests. The first period of success comprises the reigns of the elected caliphs—Omar, Othman (644–656) and Ali (656–660). In that heroic age the warlike enthusiasm of the Arabs appeared irresistible. Led by the impetuous Khaled, sword of God, and the crafty Amru, the Arabs routed Heraclius' army and inundated Syria. Jerusalem became one of the holy towns of Islam, and the caliph Omar raised his famous mosque on the very site of the Temple of Solomon; Egypt was next attacked with equal success by Amru, Alexandria alone resisted, but was captured after fourteen months. Amru has been reproached with burning the Alexandrian library. He then burnt the ancient Memphis, and in the neighbourhood arose the city of Cairo, taking its origin from the camp of the general. The Arabs pushed their conquests further west, but their internal divisions retarded their progress, and they were compelled to be content with a tribute from the Greeks, still masters of Carthage.

The Persian Empire offered no better resistance than the Eastern empire, and its last king perished in the flight which followed the decisive battle of Nehavend (652). Thenceforward the whole of Central Asia recognized the power of the caliph, and the Moslem creed penetrated as far as the deserts of Turkestan and even to the rich basin of the Indus.

The Ommiades (660–750).—With the extension of these conquests the centre of the empire was changed from Arabia to Syria, the capital from Mecca to Medina. At the same time the Moslems began to forget the simple austere virtues of the first disciples of the prophet; they lived in an atmosphere of oriental luxury and indolence and soon the competition of the ambitious pretenders to power drove the empire to civil war. At the death of Othman, Ali had been proclaimed caliph, but his authority was disputed by Amru, and by Moawiyah, chief of the powerful Koreishites. The Ommiades excited a civil war, which lasted six years and ended in the murder of Ali and the proclamation of Moawiyah, who was the first of the hereditary caliphs and who founded the dynasty of the Ommiades, lasting nearly a century, from 660 to 750. A new period of conquests now commenced, but the Arabs, in spite of several attempts, were unable to take Constantinople, the famous Greek fire was a sure protection for the city, and twice the Moslem fleets were destroyed by means of it.

Conquest of Africa (708), *of Spain* (711).—In Asia, however, they pushed their conquests to the frontiers of China, and in Northern Africa Akbar, Moawiyah's lieutenant, reached the shores of the

Atlantic. Carthage was destroyed in 698, and a few years later Musa, governor of Egypt, caused 300,000 inhabitants of Barbary to be sold as slaves, and incorporated 30,000 more in his army.

The Arabs then turned their arms against the Visigoths (711) in Spain, and one victory delivered the peninsula into their hands. At Xeres the Goths were completely defeated by Tarik, and their king, Roderick, perished. The Arabs encountered no further resistance except in the Asturias, where Pelagius had retreated with a remnant of the defenders of Spanish independence and of the Christian faith. The conquerors then crossed the Pyrenees, but their progress was checked by Charles Martel at Tours, in 732. Twenty years later the dynasty of the Ommiades was overthrown by the Abbassides, and the Moorish Empire was divided into the caliphates of Bagdad and Cordova.

The Abbassides (750-1258)—Decadence of the Empire.—Under the first princes of the Abbasside dynasty the empire reached a great height of prosperity and power. Almanzor the Victorious greatly embellished Bagdad, Haroun al Raschid, contemporary of Charlemagne, is still popular in the East, and even in Europe, being the hero of the *Thousand and One Nights*. He was a great protector of the arts and letters, as was also his son and successor, Almamun, who was surnamed the Augustus of the Arabs, but the grandeur of the empire did not survive the religious movement it had founded. The religious enthusiasm of the Moslems gave place to scepticism and religious disputes. The decadence of the empire became more and more rapid, the decay of the military spirit had left the empire without other defence than that of hordes of mercenaries. Following the example of the Abbassides other tribes set up new kingdoms, and the Abbassides were reduced to the condition of lazy kings. When the last of them perished in the taking of Bagdad by Zengis-Khan, in 1258, they had been for two centuries nothing better than religious chiefs.

The Glory of the Arabian Civilization.—The influence of the Arabs on European civilization was considerable, especially in Spain. In the latter country they had multiplied schools, academies and libraries. They excelled in the natural sciences, such as botany and medicine, and Europe derived great profit from their work. The Arabs lacked, however, originality, excepting in architecture; the Alcazar of Seville, the mosque of Cordova, the Alhambra of Granada are *chefs-d'œuvre* of architecture. They also developed industries in Spain. The arms of Toledo, the leather of Cordova, the cloth of Murcia and the silk of Seville were renowned throughout Europe. With their admirable system of irrigation they transformed Spain into a fertile and cultivated land. And whilst the peninsula then maintained some 40,000,000 inhabitants, it maintains to-day barely 20,000,000.

Chapter IV

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE NEW WESTERN EMPIRE

Charlemagne—His Conquests—Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West—
Dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire—The Normans—The Anglo-Saxon
Kingdoms.

Charlemagne (768–814).

WE have seen how the prime minister of the Frankish kings, or the Major-domus, reigned in all but the name.

Pepin of Heristal and Charles Martel (the Hammer), so surnamed on account of his military achievements, had saved Europe from the invasion of the Moslems. At Tours Charles Martel stopped the advance of the Saracens, compelling them to fall back upon Spain. Although exercising regal authority Charles did not assume the title of king; this was done by his son, Pepin the Short. Childeric III, the last imbecile Merovingian king, was deposed by the Assembly of the Nation, and Pepin proclaimed king (752). Pope Stephen confirmed the election, and Pepin proved grateful for the papal favours. He crossed the Alps to assist the pope in his struggle against the Longobards, and on this occasion made a gift to the pope of a portion of the coast on the Adriatic Sea. He thus laid the foundation of the temporal power of the popes and the papal states, where the popes henceforth exercised all the powers of sovereignty. Pepin died in 768, and his empire, which extended its boundaries into South and Central Germany, was divided between his two sons, Carloman and Karl, known as Charlemagne. On the death of Carloman, Charlemagne was declared sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom. He practically laid the foundation of all the future development of Europe, and with him the history of mediæval and modern history begins. By his alliance with the papacy and his defence of Christianity, he established the future of Christendom and completely emancipated western Europe from the east. His long reign was occupied with military expeditions against Saxons, Longobards and Saracens. The number of his campaigns amounts to fifty-two. At first Charles

proceeded against Desiderius, king of the Longobards, who was troubling the pope. Summoned by the latter to his aid, Charles crossed the St. Bernhard, stormed the passes of the Alps, conquered the kingdom of Desiderius and sent the king to a cloister. He also confirmed the gift made by his father to the papal see. He then fought against the Moors in Spain, and united the land as far as the Ebro to his own kingdom. During his return the rear of his army, commanded by the famous Roland, was attacked by the enemy in the valley of Roncesvalles, and perished before Charles could render assistance. The battle of Roncesvalles became a favourite theme of the trouvères and the mediæval poets. Far more numerous were the campaigns of Charlemagne against the pagan Saxons. Repeatedly they revolted against the Frankish rule, and, led by their warlike Duke Wittekind, obstinately resisted the introduction of Christianity and the establishment of a foreign rule. The war was carried on with cruelty and savagery on both sides. On one occasion 4,500 Saxon prisoners were executed by order of Charlemagne. At last the Saxons were forced to submit, recognizing the sovereignty of the Christian king. Charlemagne had now conquered all the lands from the Ebro and the Apennines to the Eider, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Elbe. Towards the close of the century he re-appeared in Rome to defend the pope against a crowd of insurgents, and here, in the church of St. Peter, during the Christmas festival, the pope Leo III, placed on the head of Charlemagne the crown of the Roman Empire, declaring the Frankish king the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus. This event was fraught with far-reaching consequences, and the date of 800 is a conspicuous one in the history of Europe. The imperial court was brought back from the East to the West; western Christendom was formed into one body, of which Charles was to be the temporal and the pope the spiritual head. And henceforth the western Teutonic rulers retained the title of Roman Emperor until 1806, when it was abolished by Napoleon. The Greek rulers at Constantinople, however, ignoring the act of the pope, continued to style themselves emperors until Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. The variance between the two Churches of the East and West thus ended in the separation of the Western (Roman Catholic) from the Eastern (Greek Catholic).

Charlemagne was as famous for his warlike deeds as for his domestic policy and the remarkable organization of his empire. He greatly improved the administration of justice, and promoted cultivation of the land and the education of the people. He founded schools and cathedrals, encouraged learning and supported learned monks and scholars like Alcuin, the British monk, and the historian Eginhard.

Charlemagne died in 814 and was buried at Aix, his favourite place of residence.

Dissolution of the Carlovingian Empire—Louis (814–840).—Soon after Charlemagne's death the great empire fell to pieces. Europe suffered greatly during the next two centuries from the invasions of barbarians who caused much bloodshed and misery. Charlemagne's son, Louis le Debonnaire, lacked the strength to wield the sceptre. He divided the vast kingdom among his three sons—Lothaire, Pepin and Louis. When he afterwards wished to make an alteration in favour of his fourth son, Charles the Bald, the other sons took up arms against the father. After a period of war and confusion a treaty was at last effected in 843, at Verdun, by which Lothaire received Italy, the valley of the Rhine and the imperial title; Charles, France; and Louis, Germany; Pepin having preceded his father to the grave. This treaty practically marks the origin of the three great nations, Germany, France and Italy.

The two centuries following this division were full of confusion and danger for Europe. Barbarians invaded it and threatened to destroy the beginnings of European civilization and of papacy. The Saracens appeared in the south, attacked Italy and devastated Provence and Dauphiné, whilst the Hungarians, or Magyars, who belonged to the Mongolian race, appeared in the west. The Carlovingian rulers lacked the statesmanlike views and the capacity of Charles the Great, and by continuous quarrels among themselves made it easy for the barbarian invaders to seize their lands. To oppose the enemy, the Carlovingian monarchs were obliged to restore the office of duke in many provinces, to sanction their hereditary authority and to confer considerable power upon the nobles.

Some of the descendants of Charlemagne, however, ruled well; such was Louis the German, the most capable of the sons of Louis le Debonnaire. In 876, owing to the death of the posterity of Louis le Debonnaire, almost the whole of the empire of Charlemagne came under the rule of Charles the Fat, who, being an indolent prince, purchased a disgraceful peace from the conquering Normans. The exasperated German princes deposed him and elected his nephew, the brave Arnulf, as his successor. The kingdom was again divided, and whilst Arnulf became king of Germany and the Eastern Franks and Roman Empire, the Western Franks chose Odo, count of Paris. Louis the Child, Arnulf's youthful son, died in Italy in 911, and with him the Carlovingian dynasty came to an end in Germany. The German princes, the dukes of Franconia, Saxony, Lorraine, Swabia and Bavaria met and elected Conrad (911–919) duke of Franconia as emperor. In France the Carlovingian race survived a little longer; but the dukes and nobles had

made themselves entirely independent, and wrested all the power from royalty. At last one of the mighty nobles, Hugh Capet, son of Count Hugh of Paris, assumed the title of king and the succession was settled in the family of Capet (987).

Normans.—The invasions of the Magyars and the Saracens were not the only ones from which Europe had to suffer. More formidable enemies were the Scandinavian pirates, or Normans. After the death of Charles the Great their invasions greatly increased. They had formed the kingdoms of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, but their love of liberty, of adventure and war, drove them to new expeditions. They ravaged the coasts of the North Sea, established themselves on the banks of the Loire, the Seine and the Rhine. Charles the Simple, king of France, concluded a treaty with Rollo the Dane in 911, by which the Danes or Normans were allowed to settle in Normandy, and the Normans soon acquired the language and customs of the Franks and became supporters of the French monarchy. These sea-roving adventurers were not likely to neglect a fertile country like England, much nearer to them than the banks of the Seine or Loire.

The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms.—Britain had been conquered by the Romans in the first and second centuries, and abandoned by them at the beginning of the fifth. She remained for a long time almost cut off from the rest of Europe. She was, nevertheless, invaded by barbarians. The Britons, incapable of defending themselves after the departure of the legions, were attacked by the Angles and Saxons, German pirates, who became one people, called Anglo-Saxons, or English. They drove the Celts, whom they called Welsh, into Wales and Cornwall; but some of the latter crossed the Channel during the sixth century and gave their name to Little Britain or French Britain (*Bretagne*), up till then called *Armorica*. As for their conquerors, they founded seven kingdoms, of which the most celebrated are those of Kent, Wessex (West Saxony) and Northumberland (land to the north of the Humber). There was an early British Church, and the conversion of the country was further carried on by St. Augustine and his companions; shortly afterwards the country fell a prey to frightful anarchy and could not unite to resist the Scandinavian pirates. The Northmen, or Danes, as they are called in England, made repeated incursions, and exacted a heavy tribute (*Danegeld*). At the end of the ninth century they were held in check during the reign of Alfred the Great (871–901), and many of the Danish invaders settled with Guthrum in Eastern England.

Chapter V

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

Origin and Character of Feudalism—The Feudal Hierarchy—Suzerains and Vassals—Relations of the Suzerain and Vassal—Condition of the Inferior Classes—The Nobles—The Castles—Principal Results of the Feudal System

Origin and Character of Feudalism.

WE have noticed the principal facts that caused the enfeeblement of royalty and the progress of aristocracy under the Carolingians. Owing to the weakness of the kings the duty of the defence against the invaders had fallen upon the nobles. It was with the aid of the latter that the kings had delivered their lands from the invaders, and the result was the gradual development of the power of innumerable petty lords and the strengthening of feudalism. It will be necessary to give here a brief survey of the feudal system, which played a prominent part in the history of mediæval Europe, and affected the politics and the social relations of the European nations.

Under feudalism, or the feudal system, we usually understand the public and private institutions which regulated mediæval European society. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the feudal system was prevalent only in mediæval Europe, for such an organization also existed in different lands at different times. China and Japan, the Byzantine and the Turkish Empire have had a feudal system. In mediæval Europe this peculiar form of government or society, based especially upon the tenure of land, originated from the mingling of German and Roman institutions and from the habits of mediæval landowners to grant land to others on certain conditions. In the Roman Empire the custom had already existed of granting lands on condition of military service, but when the depopulated Roman provinces had been conquered by the German invaders new relations arose under the influence of Teutonic customs. In theory the land belonged to the emperor or the king, who was the suzerain, or liege, or lord. He had a right to grant portions of his land as fiefs, or feuds (hence the term feudalism), to

his followers. Such a grant of land was called a feudal tenure. Those who received the land were called vassals, liegemen, and were bound to be faithful to their lords and do them service in war. The immediate vassals of the king or the suzerain could again divide their lands among other vassals under similar conditions upon which their tenure had been granted to them. The ceremony by which a fief was conferred was called homage, and consisted in the kneeling of the liegeman before his liege and in placing his hands between those of his lord. Gradually the vassals of the crown or the empire obtained their fiefs as hereditary estates, became very powerful and almost equal to the king, whose superior authority they only recognized in theory. The rich holders of land also deprived the smaller proprietors of their tenure, compelling many of the poorer freemen to cultivate their former possessions as hereditary tenants. Many of the latter sank to the state of villains or serfs, *i. e.* they belonged to the land and passed with it, although they could personally be sold or bought.

The Feudal Hierarchy—Suzerains and Vassals.—There were relations of superiority or dependence among the barons themselves. Moreover, the dukes and counts had under their direct or indirect authority whole provinces. In theory they were above the barons, but sometimes a simple baron was more powerful than the count his lord. Moreover, the qualities of suzerain or vassal were attached to the possession of certain lands, and a lord might be the vassal of his own vassal. It was thus that the King of France was vassal to the Abbot of St. Denis for the county of Vexin. The feudal system was full of anomalies. The reciprocal obligations of suzerains and vassals were not regulated by a general law, and varied infinitely. Still we may say that they were established by the ceremony of "homage," by which the vassal declared himself the "man" of the suzerain. There were several sorts of homage, from "simple homage," which left the vassal the greatest independence, to "bounden homage," which laid on him the strictest obligations; but in all the oath of fealty was taken to the suzerain. In return the vassal received "investiture." The suzerain gave him a piece of earth or the branch of a tree as symbol that he put him in possession of his fief.

Relations of the Suzerain and Vassal.—The suzerain was the protector of the vassal and owed him justice. The vassal had to furnish a contingent proportionate to his fee in the lord's wars, and in time of peace assist with his counsel in the lord's court of justice. He had to pay "aids," contributions, sometimes in money, sometimes in kind, the quantity being fixed by the conditions of his investiture, except in the exceptional cases when the lord had to pay ransom, marry his daughter, or knight his son. The suzerain had sometimes

other rights : those of "wardship" of his vassals during their minority and of "marriage," *i. e.* the power of choosing a husband for a vassal. If the vassal failed in his duty he might be spoiled of his fee. This meant a war, for force alone decided the question.

Condition of the Inferior Classes.—Such a régime inevitably gave birth to anarchy. The privileged classes were constantly menaced, but the people especially were in a miserable condition. The *villains*, crushed down by taxation and overwhelmed with burdens, were exposed to all sorts of miseries by the almost constant state of war. A noble never made war without burning the farms of the enemy, destroying his fields and carrying away his cattle and people. "Between the *villain* and his lord no judge but God," was the feudal doctrine. Most of the peasants were serfs attached to the land, to the domain where they were born. The rest might be taxed and burdened at will. The most favoured, those who received land from the lord to cultivate at a fixed rent, were often subjected to humiliating obligations. Thus certain lords obliged newly-married serfs to jump over the moat of the castle, and took pleasure in seeing the wretches sink in the mud.

The Castles.—The nobles rarely lived in the towns, but in their domains, often in the neighbourhood of the forests, for the chase and wars were their favourite pursuits. Strong castles, which had begun to be built at the time of the invasion of the Northmen, had everywhere multiplied. In these fortified places, generally built on an eminence, surrounded by trenches and furnished with towers, the lord lived with his family and men-at-arms ; he had a court and officers, a seneschal, a bailiff, a constable, a chancellor and marshals. The most important part of the castle was the donjon, a high and strong tower generally placed in the centre, from which a watcher constantly spied the land to signal the approach of an enemy, and cause the drawbridges to be raised.

Principal Results of the Feudal System.—Feudalism developed fine qualities in the nobility. Accustomed only to count on themselves and their courage, they acquired that vigour of character that constant fighting gives. By the habit of commanding they acquired pride and dignity. Our modern institution of jury and our representative governments have also their origin in old Germanic customs : the judgment of the freemen by his peers and the free voting of taxes. Women began to take a more honoured place and family life was ameliorated, partly through the isolation of feudal life, partly through the influence of the Church. On the whole, however, feudalism was a detestable state of things, founded as it was on violence and the oppression of the feeble.

Chapter VI

FEUDALISM IN ENGLAND—THE NORMAN CONQUEST

Alfred the Great—Edward the Confessor—William the Conqueror—The Battle of Hastings—Oppression of the Saxons—Principal Results of the Norman Conquest—Death of William the Conqueror.

FEUDALISM, in consequence of the struggle of the kings against the invasions of the Northmen, had thus made rapid strides. From the tenth century onward the chief aim of the monarchs was not only to drive back the invaders, but also to consolidate their conquests and to attain unity. It was the struggle throughout Europe between feudalism and monarchy. In England this work was undertaken by Alfred the Great. His reign was the most glorious period in the history of ancient England.

Alfred, a skilled warrior and at the same time a clear-sighted administrator, did not content himself with freeing the country; he organized it, and may be called the Charlemagne of England. To him is attributed the ancient division of the realm into counties or shires, and the foundation of the celebrated schools of Oxford; he made also praiseworthy efforts to introduce Roman culture among his subjects. But after his time the invasions recommenced; the Danes gained rule over all Great Britain, and Canute, the son of Swegen, master of England, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, could entitle himself "Emperor of the North." It was an ephemeral empire. At Canute's death in 1035, the divisions among the Danes permitted the Saxons to set up a national sovereign, Edward the Confessor, descendant of their ancient kings.

Edward the Confessor—Influence of the Normans.—Edward, long an exile, had passed his youth at the court of the dukes of Normandy. He brought back to England many Normans, and treated them with a favour that excited the jealousy of the national party. Earl Godwin, the most powerful of the Saxon nobles, took up arms; he was conquered and the relations of Edward with the court of Rouen

remained intimate until his death. William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, a descendant of Rollo the Dane, even made a voyage to England, and the number of compatriots he found there, their influence, the high positions that they occupied, must have encouraged him in his projects of conquest; the death of Edward the Confessor, in 1066, found him decided on this great enterprise.

William the Conqueror—Battle of Hastings (1066).—While the Saxon party proclaimed Harold, son of Earl Godwin, William assembled a fleet and army to contest the crown with him. The last king, he said, had disposed of it in his favour, and he appealed not only to the nobles and the towns of Normandy, but to all the brave and adventurous in France. Volunteers poured in from remote provinces like Burgundy and Aquitaine; it was a war of conquest and every one could hope for a rich booty, but it was also a holy war. The pope, discontented with the Saxon clergy, whom he found intractable, sent the duke of Normandy a consecrated standard and a jewel containing a hair of St. Peter. The expedition set out from Saint-Valery-sur-Somme and landed on the south coast of England. The Saxons who tried to stop it were completely conquered at the battle of Hastings. Harold himself was among the dead (1066). This victory delivered England into the hands of William the Conqueror, for she had neither fortresses nor a regular army. London itself, the only town of any importance, submitted without resistance. William caused himself to be crowned, and to assure his position erected the famous "Tower of London." Still the submission of the Saxons was not complete; if the mass of the people, long kept down, was almost indifferent to the revolution which gave it new masters, the aristocracy fought with all its strength against the conquerors. As the work of spoliation ordered by William went on, the most energetic among the conquered assembled in the forests, in the marshy regions of the east coast, and England became the theatre of a multitude of little local wars; the strong organization of the Normans and the superiority of their arms assured them in the end the victory. The centre of the Saxon resistance, "the Camp of Refuge" was taken by William in 1072. From this time one may say that the conquest was finished. Those of the Saxons who refused to submit emigrated to Scotland, and as far as Constantinople; others sought an asylum in the great forests, and were tracked there like brigands or wild beasts. The legends of Robin Hood afterwards poetized the life of these outlaws or proscripts, last defenders of Saxon independence.

The Normans in England—Oppression of the Saxons.—William firmly organized his conquest. England, divided like booty among the victors, furnished the king with immense domains, more than 700

large fiefs to his officers, more than 60,000 knight's fees to his lesser companions. A foreign aristocracy was thus implanted by force, for many who were only soldiers of fortune or tradespeople on the Continent became the stem of powerful houses. "Bon Vilain and Boute Vilain, Œil-de-Bœuf and Front-de-Bœuf, Guillaume le Charron, Hugues le Tailleur, Guillaume le Tambour. Such were the names borne by the ancestors of the proudest aristocracy in the world." The work of spoliation was regularized by the great rate-book of England, which was called by the Saxons "the Domesday Book," that is to say Book of the Last Judgment. Those of them who were allowed to keep their belongings received the same title as the Norman proprietors, as a concession of the king, a gift, an alms.

The clergy were not spared, bishoprics and benefices became the prey of the Normans. The archbishopric of Canterbury, to which was attached the dignity of primate of England, was given to Lanfranc, abbot of Bec, in Normandy. A monk of Fécamp, who had brought a ship and twenty men-at-arms to Hastings, received in recompense the bishopric of Worcester; Saxon saints even gave place to saints of Norman origin. From this time the English Church, disciplined, devoted to the new royalty, subjected by Lanfranc to the reforms that Gregory VII was establishing on the Continent, became a powerful instrument of government.

To keep in order a nation so spoiled and trampled on, to prevent an always threatening revolt, a few victories were not enough; incessant precautions were necessary. William provided these by laws of utmost rigour; that of the curfew forbade the Saxons to leave their houses after eight o'clock in the evening; that of the foresters to carry any other arms than a stick to keep away dangerous beasts; that of Englishry made all the inhabitants of a village where a Frenchman had been killed responsible for the murder, and declared every unknown victim a Frenchman if he could not be proved English.

Principal Results of the Norman Conquest.—William and his successors, until the thirteenth century, considered themselves as Frenchmen. England, in their hands as dukes of Normandy, was only an appanage of Normandy, and they carried thither their tongue, which remained until the fourteenth century the official language of England, and their civilization; the feudal system, as it was organized by the Conqueror, was reconciled with a royal power much stronger than any on the Continent. William, in distributing to his companions in arms immense domains, took care to reserve to himself the exercise of regal rights. He alone was sovereign, he alone received directly the homage of all his vassals, and he remained in his conquest like a general surrounded by his army, which,

encamped in an enemy's country, constantly menaced by a rising of the conquered, surrounded its chief as on the eve of a battle. It was only later, when the sons of the Conqueror were fused with the descendants of the Saxons, that an alliance could be formed between the nobility and the burgesses of the towns against the crown; this was the first beginning of the liberties of the English nation. This conquest, of which the results were so important for England, created in France herself a new situation. Undoubtedly it was possible on this side of the Channel to boast of the conquest as a national victory, to be proud of seeing the language and customs of France obtain power and influence over the vast country; but the power of the Capet dynasty—that is of France—was not the less compromised. She had henceforth a vassal stronger than herself. And the French kings, endeavouring to make their great vassals, the dukes of Normandy and kings of England, dependent on the Crown of France, caused a rivalry between England and France which continued for several centuries. The results were long wars between the two nations.

Death of William the Conqueror (1078).—Strifes began in the time of William for the possession of the Vexin, between the Epte and the Oise, on the right bank of the Seine. Perhaps also the Conqueror wished to revenge himself for the coarse jokes of Philip I, who laughed at the stoutness of the king of England and asked "If that fat man would soon have his accouchement." William, furious, had sworn to hold his churching at Notre Dame with 10,000 lances for candles, but he had not time to execute this threat. He was mortally wounded at the taking of Nantes, and was buried at Caen in the church of Saint Etienne which he had built (1087).

His sons for long disputed his heritage. The eldest, Robert Courthose, one of the heroes of the first Crusade, inherited the duchy of Normandy; he tried in vain to take England from William Rufus, then from Henry I. He was conquered and ended his life in captivity. Henry I reunited Normandy and England under his rule, and sustained, not without success, several wars against the king of France, Louis le Gros; but he died without male issue, and his death became the signal for a long civil war. His daughter, Matilda, married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, duke of Anjou, was not at first recognized as heiress. It was only in 1154 that the son of Matilda, Henry II, received the whole inheritance of the Conqueror and founded the dynasty of the Plantagenets.

Chapter VII

FEUDALISM IN FRANCE AND IN GERMANY

Feebleness of the first Capetians—Hugh Capet—Feudalism in Germany—The House of Saxony—Otto the Great—The House of Franconia.

Feebleness of the First Capetians—Hugh Capet (987-96).

WHILST the Norman and Angevin sovereigns supported by the Church and the people were gradually triumphing over the great lords and were successful in uniting England, in France the change of dynasty in 987 scarcely altered the state of affairs. In any case the process of unity and centralization was a slower one. The first Capetians were almost supreme in the Ile-de-France, but had no more power than the last Carlovingians over the other provinces. They were not respected, and sought to acquire moral authority by an alliance with the Church. Hugh Capet had himself and his son consecrated, and his successors did the same until it became superfluous in the time of Philip Augustus. A bishop delivered up to Hugh Capet the last Carlovingian, Charles of Lorraine, who claimed the throne. In return he surrendered to the Church the rich abbeys of Saint Denis and St. Germain-des-Près and forced many of his vassals to follow his example. Saint Valéry appeared to him in a dream, and promised that his descendants should occupy the throne till the seventh generation. Part of France did not recognize him. In central France charters were drawn up with the formula, "God is king during the interregnum"; close to Paris the barons of Montmorency used the style, "Lords by the grace of God"; those of Coucy took the device, "I am not king, nor duke, nor count, I am the Sire de Coucy." Hugh Capet never dared to assume the regalia.

During his reign Hugh Capet succeeded in triumphing over the feudal element. Paris became capital of France, and the royal power was strengthened, but after the death of the founder of the Capetian dynasty monarchy was again weakened, until it again held its own against the great feudatories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In Germany feudalism took the same course as in France.

FEUDALISM IN GERMANY—THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Progress of Feudalism in Germany—The Great Duchies.—In Germany as in France the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887 was a victory for feudalism, but while the French branch of the Carolingians clung for more than a century to the monarchic principle, it was only represented in the German branch by two princes. The first, Arnulf, successor of Charles the Fat, was an active and ambitious man, who re-established a sort of suzerainty over the realms formed by the dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire, and even took the imperial crown; but his son, Louis the Child, died without issue, and the crown became elective and had no longer anything but a moral authority. Afterwards a few great princes restored to it part of its ancient ascendancy, but that was because they disposed of those great fiefs which formed from that time almost independent kingdoms. Germany comprehended several distinct peoples under national dukes: Swabians or Germans in the south-west in the upper valleys of the Rhine and Danube; Bavarians in the basin of the Danube, at the east of Swabia; Thuringians towards the centre; Saxons to the north-east; Franconia, on the two banks of the Rhine and Lorraine, composed the countries of old Austrasia.

The House of Saxony (919–1034).—We have seen how the German nobles had elected Conrad of Franconia as emperor. During his reign the influences of the nobles increased and Germany was again threatened by external foes, whilst disunion and disorder within the boundaries of the empire were a great danger to the country. A strong ruler was therefore elected as Conrad's successor in the person of Henry the Fowler of Saxony.

The House of Saxony succeeded in uniting Germany under it for a century and in extending its dominion over Italy. Henry the Fowler (919–36) checked the invasions of the Slavs, who were then advancing along the left shore of the Elbe, but were stopped by the Marshes of Brandenburg and of Meissen. He fought the Hungarians, who for half-a-century had been devastating the country from the Danube to the Meuse. He killed, it is said, 40,000 at the battle of Merseburg (933).

Otto the Great—The German Roman Empire (962).—Otto, Henry's eldest son, arrested the progress of the Hungarians by the memorable victory of Augsburg, in which he slew 100,000 men (955), and revived the conquering and civilizing policy of Charlemagne against the barbarians of the East. He forced the Slavs of Bohemia and Poland and the Northmen of Denmark to render him homage and to permit the preaching of Christian missionaries. At home he

reunited the great fiefs under the rule of his family and worked to re-establish the old centralization.

Finally he profited by Italian anarchy, and had himself crowned emperor at Rome in 962. He thus established two maxims of jurisprudence: that the prince elected in a German Diet acquired at the same time the realm of Italy, but that he could not legally be qualified emperor until he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman Pontiff. The "Holy Roman Empire of the Germans" had, however, no solidity and nearly fell on Otto the Great's death. Otto II (973-983) suppressed all the revolts of the German nobles and even those of the Italians, who gave him the surname of "the Bloody"; he went as far as Montmartre to punish the king of France, Lothaire, for the invasion of Lorraine, but he failed in his enterprise on Southern Italy, and was conquered at Basentello by the Greeks and Saracens (982). The minority of his son Otto III (983-1002) was troubled by numerous revolts, and this prince died young in 1002, after having put down the republican insurrection of the Tribune Crescentius at Rome. The House of Saxony became extinct with the death of Henry II in 1024.

Conrad II (1024-39).—The House of Franconia (1024-1125) again took up the dynasty, and, at first with success, the work of Otto the Great. Conrad II reunited to the Empire the Kingdom of Arles and the southern part of Lotharingia, between the Rhine and the Alps. Conrad's son and successor, Henry III (1039-56) made laws in Rome as at Frankfort, designated popes and appointed bishops.

Chapter VIII

PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

The Bishops of Rome—The Rise of Papacy—The Roman Church and Gregory VII—
Reform of the Clergy—Reforms of Cluny—Theocratic Doctrines—The Quarrel about
Investitures—Death of Gregory VII—Concordate of Worms.

The Rise of Papacy.

WHILST Europe, since the fall of the Western Roman Empire, was passing through troublous times, whilst Charlemagne was establishing the German Empire on the ruins of that of Rome, and whilst his successors were busy in checking decentralization, what was happening to the Church?

The Church had in the meantime gone on gathering new strength and developing influence, and from feeble beginnings was rising to supremacy and grandeur which it displayed in the later half of the Middle Ages and especially during the Crusades. The Church, or the spiritual empire, possessed a hierarchy of officers, deacons, presbyters and bishops. The highest grade of bishop was that of patriarch, and towards the end of the fourth century there were five patriarchs residing in the five great cities of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Gradually the Bishops of Rome came to be regarded as the most important princes of the Church, and in the fifth century they assumed the title of Pope (or papa) as a mark of special dignity. Valentinian I had declared the power of the Bishops of Rome supreme, and the fall of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem before the Saracens greatly enhanced the power of the popes, leaving only the patriarchs of Constantinople as their rivals for spiritual power. A dispute about the use of images in the churches led to a separation between the Greek churches of the East and the Latin churches of the West. This dispute is known as the "iconoclastic war." The Emperor Leo the Isamian had issued a decree that all the churches should be cleared of images, but whilst the Greek clergy obeyed, the bishops of Rome excommunicated the iconoclastic clergy and the Emperor of the East. The separation between the Catholic, Latin or Roman,

and the Byzantine, Greek or Eastern, became final in the eleventh century. The popes of Rome became the sole undisputed spiritual rulers of the Western Christian world.

For a moment, it is true, it had seemed as if this institution was to be destroyed and its remains buried under the ruins of the old world and the civilization which was crumbling away. It was during the inrush of the barbarians, in the midst of warriors who respected nothing but brutal force, in the midst of a society whose chief characteristics were violence and gross passions, that the Church showed how she could adapt herself to the ideas of the time, and whilst meeting the needs of those who lived under her, she paved the way to her independence and supreme power. During the tumultuous period caused by the invasion of Ostrogoths and Lombards the pope had come to be regarded as their leader by the people of Rome. Heathenism had been swept away ; heathen Rome was no more, its temples had been destroyed and its gods were dead. A new Rome had arisen, and the bishop, or the pope, was the most important man in the New Christian city. The alliance concluded by the popes with the Carolingian dynasty and the grant of lands bestowed upon the pope by Pepin the Short was the beginning of the temporal power of the bishops of Rome. In the year 800 Pope Leo crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the West, and by this act he practically established the claim of the popes to control the temporal power of the world.

The Church in the Feudal System.—In the eleventh century, however, the Church called for radical reforms. Bishops and abbots performed secular duties. The rich revenues attached to ecclesiastical dignities attracted the ambitious, and the morals of the clergy were scandalous. Princes disposed of Church patronage. "Simony" was a universal abuse. The clergy were as worldly and violent as the laity. At Christmas 1063 the mitred abbot of Fulda and the bishop of Hildesheim disputed precedence in full church with swords drawn. The altar was, it is said, covered with blood. Such was the state of the Roman Church when Gregory VII was elected pope in 1073.

Gregory VII (1073-85)—Reform of the Clergy.—He was one of the most eminent supporters of the papal claims and is known by his earlier name of Hildebrand. A monk of Cluny, he had risen entirely by his talent and virtues. He called frequent general councils, and the regular clergy became in his hands the most valuable of instruments. Monks became the disciplined and devoted militia of the Holy See. They went everywhere preaching obedience, excommunicating married or simoniacal priests, and, if need were, calling popular passions to their aid. The clergy were reformed, and at the same time the authority of the pope, hitherto obscured by that of

bishops and councils, became in the eyes of the faithful the unique source of justice and morality.

Theocratic Doctrines.—The pope after such a victory could not remain the subject of the emperors. "The world," wrote Gregory VII, "is lighted by two lights : the sun the greater, and the moon the smaller ; the apostolic authority resembles the sun, the royal power the moon. As the moon owes its rays to the sun, so emperors, kings and princes only exist by the grace of the pope because he is appointed by God. Everything then is subordinate to the pope." Such pretensions necessarily met with resistance from governments, and the strife between the two great powers of the Middle Ages, the Papacy and the Empire, was long and varying in its fortunes. The pope experienced the most formidable opposition to his claims in Germany, where the Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) protested against the pope's reform measures and insisted on investing bishops.

The Quarrel about Investitures.—Both parties took up arms. Henry could not entirely rely on his German resources, nor on those of Italy, and Gregory, despite the devotion of the Countess Matilda, mistress of Central Italy, had nowhere a military force to support his pretensions. Henry, however, was the first beaten. Part of Germany would not recognize his authority, since he was excommunicated, and to avoid deposition he in 1077 went to Italy to the Castle of Cenossa among the Apennines, land belonging to the Countess Matilda, where the pope then lived, and remained three days outside the gate without his royal robes and shoeless, imploring the pope with tears for pity. Finally on the fourth day Gregory removed his anathema. He was allowed to kneel at the feet of the head of the Church and received forgiveness.

Death of Gregory VII (1087).—But such humiliation only encouraged hatred. The emperor, once re-established in Germany, crossed the Alps with a large army, traversed Italy as a conqueror and took Rome. Gregory fled to the Castle of Saint Angelo and saw his enemy crown an anti-pope. He was saved by the approach of the Normans of the two Sicilies, who forced the emperor to retire towards the north. Nevertheless, papacy came out of this crisis humiliated, its material feebleness had been shown and Henry's attempt encouraged its enemies, and even the Normans who, under Robert Guiscard, had delivered Gregory VII, led him into a sort of captivity. The old pontiff died at Salerno in 1085. The death of Gregory did not end the quarrel. The struggle continued after his death.

Death of Henry IV (1106).—His successors, inheritors of his doctrines and encouraged by the success of the First Crusade, fiercely attacked the enemies of the Holy See. Henry IV, betrayed by his

own sons, forced to kneel at the feet of a legate to implore a pardon which was refused to him, died dethroned and miserable. His excommunicated body remained five years in a stone coffin at the door of the Cathedral of Spire before it was buried (1106).

Concordate at Worms (1122).—Henry V, his unnatural son, was not himself docile towards the Holy See; but in 1122 by the celebrated Concordate of Worms, the quarrel about investitures was settled. The emperor renounced ecclesiastical investiture and agreed only to give prelates the temporalities of their benefices. The disputes between papacy and empire afterwards took other forms. Thus it was admitted that whilst temporal authority emanated from the State, the Church was the supreme authority in all spiritual matters.

Chapter IX

THE CRUSADES

Motives of the Crusades—The First Crusade—Taking of Jerusalem—Departure of the Feudal Army—Stay at Constantinople—Crusaders in Asia—Christian Realm of Jerusalem—The Military Orders—Second Crusade—Third Crusade—Fourth Crusade—The Latin Empire of the East—The Fifth and Sixth Crusades—The Seventh Crusade—St. Louis in Egypt—General Results of the Crusades.

WHILST the Empire and the Papacy were struggling for supremacy, Europe was stirred by a great religious movement, which culminated in the Crusades.

Motives of the Crusades.—The Crusades were great religious expeditions undertaken during two centuries by Christians for the purpose of wresting the holy places in Palestine from the hands of the Moslems. Apart from political considerations, such as the necessity of keeping back the Moslem invasion, always menacing, and putting an end to the private wars which desolated the West, the feudal society so restless, so disturbed, found in these distant expeditions a satisfaction to its heroic and adventurous instincts. Thanks to the general ignorance, ambition pushed on to the conquest of a country that they imagined delightful. But the strongest sentiment was the religious enthusiasm that animated the greater number of the crusaders. It was a holy war that they undertook, and the sole recompense that they hoped for were the indulgences promised. The state of the East threatened a new Moslem invasion. Ever since the fourth century mediæval piety had given rise to the prevalent custom of pilgrimages undertaken to the Holy Land. Helena, the mother of Constantine, had erected a basilica on the site of the Sepulchre of Christ, and Christians travelled to pray on the sacred spot and to expiate a sinful life. As long as the Arabs were in possession of the Holy Land, pilgrimages were easy and the pilgrims were safe. Swarms of pious Christians visited the Holy Land and found consolation on the spots where Christ had lived his earthly life. Towards the end of the tenth century, however, Syria and Palestine had been conquered by the Seljuk Turks and the holy places became dangerous for the Christian pilgrims. They were often

robbed, maltreated and killed. The Seljuk Turks, masters of Asia, menaced Constantinople, and the Greek Empire, for long separated from the West, was incessantly troubled by palace revolutions, popular revolts, religious dissensions. At the end of the eleventh century Alexius Comnenus called to the West for help. Islam had long inspired the Christians with terror, and Europe was indignant at the recitals by pilgrims of their sufferings, and of the sacrileges at the holy places; for pilgrimages had yearly become more numerous, and the journey to Palestine was considered the most meritorious of all acts. Already Gregory VII had conceived the project of a great expedition to deliver the Holy Sepulchre. It was taken up again at the end of the eleventh century by two Frenchmen, Peter the Hermit, a monk of the district of Amiens, and Pope Urban II.

The First Crusade (1095-9)—Taking of Jerusalem.—Peter the Hermit on his return from Asia recounted to indignant Europe the miseries of the Christians of the East and the outrages that daily dishonoured the Holy Sepulchre. His energetic and popular eloquence raised the crowds. Pope Urban II came to France, and during the Council of Clermont (1095), surrounded by several cardinals and more than 300 bishops, several thousand knights and a numberless throng, he preached the Holy War in a plain adjoining the town. The immense assembly, transported with enthusiasm, cried "God wills it!" and from this time a cross of red cloth placed on the shoulder served to designate the soldiers of Christ. Thence their name of "Crusaders" (1095).

In the following year all Western Europe was shaken to its foundations. Although only the French were preached to, what Christian people did not also furnish soldiers? One might have seen the Scots, covered with shaggy mantles, assemble from the depths of their marshes. Barbarians of unknown nations disembarked in French ports; nobody understood their tongue; placing their fingers in the form of a cross they made the sign that they would go to the defence of the Christian faith. The Crusade commenced in the spring of 1096. People departed without provisions, sometimes without arms, counting on chance and miracles. Was it not said that Charlemagne rose from the tomb to command the Crusaders? Would not God guide and nourish His soldiers like the Hebrews in the desert? Such combatants, however, could not go far. The greater number were exterminated by the Hungarians, whom they had exasperated by their pillages; others, transported by the Greeks to the coast of Asia, allowed themselves to be surprised by the Turks and covered with their bones the plains of Nicæa.

Departure of the Feudal Army (1096)—Stay at Constantinople.—The true army, that of the knights, departed later. It was supposed to

have numbered 30,000 men, although the chroniclers give different accounts. It was composed of several divisions that met under the walls of Constantinople. Some advanced by the Rhine, Germany and Hungary, others through Italy and the Illyrian provinces, and others again by Brindisi, Macedonia and Thrace. It was primarily a French expedition. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, Robert, duke of Normandy, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother of King Philip I, Raymond of Saint Gilles, count of Toulouse and marquis of Provence, the richest of all the Crusaders, Bohemond of Otranto and his nephew Tancred, at the head of the Normans of Southern Italy. The pope's legate Adhemar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy in Velay, was the spiritual head. The court of Constantinople was frightened. Alexius Comnenus grew alarmed and suspicious as to the attitude of those vast armies towards the Greek Empire. There was danger lest the Crusaders should turn their arms against the Greek Empire instead of fighting the infidel Turks. The emperor therefore hastened to provide the necessary ships for the Crusaders to cross the Bosphorus.

Crusaders in Asia (1099).—Great were their sufferings in Asia Minor, although they took Nicæa and won the battle of Dorylæum. They finally climbed the Taurus and descended into Syria. After a six months' siege they entered Antioch by ruse, but it nearly became their tomb. A Turkish army besieged them. Happily they saved themselves by a desperate sortie, and the way to Jerusalem lay open. At the end of a forty days' attack they took the ramparts of Jerusalem. Friday, July 15, 1099, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the hour and day of the death of the Saviour, Jerusalem was taken, but the carnage still went on.

Christian Realm of Jerusalem (1099).—*The Military Orders*.—The Crusaders hastened to return to Europe. Godfrey of Bouillon (or Boulogne) accepted the government of Jerusalem and remained to defend the new Christian kingdom for the rest of his life. He refused, however, the title of king, but called himself Baron and Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre. Others became Princes of Antioch or of Galilee, Marquis of Ptolemais (St. Jean d'Acre), Counts of Tripoli, of Bethlehem and of Nazareth. The feudal system was regularly instituted by the "Assizes of Jerusalem." Godfrey of Bouillon defeated the Fatimites of Egypt at Ascalon (1099), but died two years afterwards, and the situation of the Christians became more critical. Special forces had to be instituted to defend the Holy places and the Orders of the Templars,¹ Hospitalers and Teutonic Knights were

¹ The Templars took their name from the fact that one of the buildings occupied by the brotherhood was on the site of the Temple of Solomon, whilst the Hospitalers were so called on account of the order having been formed among the monks of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem.

founded, bound by vows like the religious orders of the West. Nevertheless the successors of Godfrey were reduced to a few towns round their capital and one of them was taken prisoner at Edessa. Edessa was taken and 30,000 Christians massacred; Jerusalem was menaced (1144).

Second Crusade (1147-9).—The Second Crusade was preached by St. Bernard, abbot of Clairveaux, throughout France and Germany, but he did not raise the enthusiasm of the First Crusade. The second was a great military expedition directed by sovereigns, not by their vassals, for feudalism, at least in France, was already in a state of decadence. It had no success. The German army which started under the Emperor Conrad III nearly perished in Asia Minor through the treachery of the Greeks. After infinite miseries the French, under Louis VII, embarked for Syria. Those who could not get ships were slaughtered on their march through Cilicia. Conrad and Louis failed to take Damascus and won no glory. From this time the Crusades took a new character. They gave up the land route and employed the fleets of Venice and Genoa. The difficulties and expense, however, made them less frequent and they no longer excited popular enthusiasm.

Third Crusade (1189-92).—The Third Crusade was preached after the capture of Jerusalem by the Sultan Saladin. It was led by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard I, king of England. The Germans departed first by the land route, but, the emperor perishing in Cilicia in the icy waters of the Seleph, the army disbanded. The kings of France and England embarked at Genoa and Marseilles and had quarrelled before they arrived in the East. After bloody combats Acre was taken, but there their success ended. Philip Augustus returned to Europe and Richard excited admiration by his prowess, but did no good. He was captured on his way back to Europe on the lands of Leopold, duke of Austria, whom he had insulted in the East, and long remained a prisoner in the hands of Henry VI, son and successor of Frederick Barbarossa.

Fourth Crusade (1202-4).—The Fourth Crusade showed ardent faith mixed with worldly ambition. There was no king among the Crusaders, but the expedition was led by great lords like Baldwin, count of Flanders, Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and a crowd of knights and adventurers. The army met at Venice and promised the republic the town of Zara in Dalmatia in return for transport. Zara, however, belonged to the King of Hungary, who was associated with the Crusade, and the Crusaders were forbidden by the pope to attack it. They took it, however, and then at the request of the Venetians, replaced Isaac Comnenus on the throne of Constantinople. Chased from Constantinople, they attacked and took it a second time,

and a horrible pillage followed. "Every treasure in the world" became the prey of the conqueror. The result of this Crusade was the division of the Byzantine Empire among the Latin princes and the setting up of a Latin prince as Emperor of the East.

The Latin Empire of the East (1024-61).—The Eastern Empire was shared by the conquerors, and Baldwin of Flanders became emperor. Others became Dukes of Athens, of Nicæa, Counts of Thebes, Marquises of Corinth. Boniface of Montferrat was proclaimed King of Thessalonica, and Villehardouin, the historian of this Crusade, Duke of Achaia. Feudalism under Western forms was established in the East. The Venetians took the best part, the isles and coasts of the Adriatic, the coast of the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, the isles of the Archipelago, Adrianople, and finally part of Constantinople, with the title of "Lords of half the Greek Empire" (1204). The Latin Empire did not last long. Baldwin of Flanders is said to have died a prisoner of the Bulgarians; the last of his successors was defeated in 1261 by Michael Paleologus, a descendant of the ancient Imperial family, who, with the support of Genoa, the enemy of Venice, re-established the Greek Empire. The Greeks held the throne until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. In the interval between the Fourth and the Fifth Crusade the religious enthusiasm had taken hold of the children and agitated them to such an extent that 20,000 left their paternal homes for the purpose of reaching the Holy Sepulchre. They were led by a French peasant lad, named Stephen, twelve years of age; most of the children perished by hunger and exhaustion, or were sold as slaves in the Mohammedan markets.

The Fifth and Sixth Crusades (1217-28).—The fifth, commanded by Jean de Brienne, who bore the title of King of Jerusalem, was directed on Egypt. Damietta was taken, but the Crusade was stopped by the overflow of the Nile, famine and pestilence, and a capitulation allowed the Christians to retreat on condition of giving up Damietta. The Sixth Crusade was undertaken by an excommunicated prince, the Emperor Frederick II, who, instead of fighting, negotiated, and peacefully obtained Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.

Seventh Crusade (1248)—St. Louis in Egypt.—Louis IX of France, or St. Louis, as he was called, revived public enthusiasm in the Crusades; but he had great difficulty in getting together an army. Damietta was occupied, but the ironclad knights of the West could not manœuvre in this climate, and action was delayed till autumn, when floods rendered the country impracticable. Finally, the king's brother, Robert d'Artois, was caught in an ambuscade, and perished at Mansourah, and the retreat commenced. On the way the army was destroyed with the exception of a few chief men, whom the

Moslems kept for ransom. Damietta was restored for the king's ransom, and a large sum of money paid for the other prisoners. The king then went to the Holy Land, and stayed there many years trying to reorganize the realm and make peace between the military orders, until the death of his mother, Blanche of Castile, recalled him to France in 1254.

Sixteen years after his return, St. Louis undertook another Crusade. He believed that the King of Tunis intended to join him, and that Tunis would become for Europe the key of Egypt and Palestine. The expedition was not popular. Louis IX died at the siege of Tunis, and the only benefit of the Crusade was to Charles of Anjou, who obtained the promise of a tribute.

General Results of the Crusades.—The results of the Crusades were many, and their consequences were of vast importance, affecting the progress and civilization of the European nations. Populations separated for centuries were joined together by devotion to a sacred cause. Different classes were brought together, and brought about in time sentiments of humanity and religious tolerance.

The most important results were seen in European politics and the progress of civilization. The Crusades made the pope the chief of the Western world. They almost destroyed feudalism by the death or impoverishment of the great nobles, and thus in a measure as the nobility was weakened the power of the kings increased. Monarchy began to triumph over feudalism. The towns again gained many advantages, and the lower classes profited by the distress of the barons, to buy from them their liberties and their lands, and a free peasantry arose.

Maritime commerce was also born at this time. The vessels of Venice, Genoa and Pisa began a regular traffic between the ports of the Mediterranean ; and the rich products of the Levant, penetrating to the heart of the Continent, roused a desire for luxury and encouraged the spirit of commerce and industry. At the same time the world, better known by the geographical works of Arabs, began to be explored. In the fourteenth century the Venetian Marco Polo crossed Asia from the Mediterranean to the shores of the great ocean. To the Crusades also is due the intellectual revival of the thirteenth century, the time of the troubadours and trouvères, the German minnesinger, the Spanish romancers, the period of architecture and of the most beautiful cathedrals.

The rude peoples of the Mediæval West were brought into contact with the culture of the East, which exercised a refining influence upon the former. Arts and industries were introduced from Asia, and affected the industrial life of the European nations, while stimulating the intellectual activity of the West.

Chapter X

THE GROWTH OF NATIONS AND THE RISE OF STRONG MONARCHIES

ENGLAND.—English Royalty after the Conquest—Union of the Nobles and Common People against Royalty—The Successor of William the Conqueror—The Plantagenets—Henry III and the Statutes of Oxford—The Beginnings of the House of Commons—The Dynasty of Lancaster—Wars of the Roses.

FRANCE.—Louis the Fat—Louis VII—Louis IX—Crusade against the Albigenses—Philip II—France under the House of Valois—The Hundred Years' War—Charles V—Charles VI—Joan of Arc—End of the Hundred Years' War.

BY this time nearly all European nations had been formed, and were becoming of more or less historical importance. Feudalism was in its decline, and cities and petty principalities were gradually losing their individuality. In a measure, as the local independence of the feudal barons was destroyed, the power of the kings increased, national government was developed and consolidated, the feelings of nationality strengthened, and national languages and literature were formed. On the ruins of irregular feudal rule strong monarchies arose, and an absolute form of government was established. In the succeeding chapters we shall give a brief survey of the history of these European nations, and the fate of royalty among them.

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

England—English Royalty after the Conquest.—Whilst in France royalty, feeble in its beginnings, succeeded from the twelfth to the thirteenth century in reconstituting the unity of the government, in England it had quite a different destiny. At first the king was very powerful; established by right of conquest, he lived there for a long time like a general in the midst of a victorious army. The cause of the barons was as his own, they had one common enemy, the despoiled, oppressed, but always threatening Saxon. The constant danger in which the Norman aristocracy found itself in the first century after the Conquest, made it put up with strange things on the part of the king, who had every means of assuring himself that the land would be well defended. He was the universal guardian

of all the minor nobles ; he married noble heirs to whomsoever he pleased. Guardianships and marriages, he made money out of them all, swallowing up the inheritances of his noble wards, drawing money from those who desired to marry rich women, and from women who refused his protégés. He furthermore ordered the payment of a sum from those who desired to be exempt from going to war, and the barons, tired of continual calls to arms, preferred giving money to following their adventurous sovereigns in the enterprises upon which they embarked. As for the king, he took advantage of this exchange ; in place of the capricious and uncertain service of the barons, he bought that of mercenary soldiers, Gascons, Brabantians, Gauls and others. These people, owing allegiance to none save the king, pitted their strength against that of the aristocracy, which found itself paying for the bridle and bit that the king had fixed in its mouth.

The Anglo-Norman nobles could hardly fail to seize the first opportunity of putting an end to this tyranny, and such an opportunity occurred during the thirteenth century.

Union of the Nobles and Common People against Royalty—The Great Charter (1215).—However, time did its work. The children of the conquerors and of the conquered became united by marriage. The English nation was formed by the fusion of two races that had long been enemies, and soon the barons of foreign origin were able to lean upon an entire people. Normans and Saxons, barons, bishops, the common people of the towns, began to unite their efforts against the royal despotism, and finished by making him respect their rights.

Royalty itself underwent during the same epoch an important transformation. The sovereigns of England, up to Richard Cœur de Lion, had remained French by language and education. Masters of Normandy, of Anjou and of Guyenne, it was to the Continent they looked for their chief support. There was their true patrimony and also their true fatherland. England, a conquered country, was in their eyes only one of Normandy's dependencies. William the Conqueror had been followed in succession by his two sons, William II, known as Rufus, "the Red" (1087-1100), and Henry I, known as Beauclerc, "the good scholar" (1100-35). Henry I had no sons, and the barons had promised him to accept his daughter Matilda, who had married the count of Anjou, as their sovereign. On the death of Henry I, however, Stephen of Blois, a grandson of the Conqueror, was raised to the throne (1135-84). A civil war was the result. The royal power declined, the barons gained ascendancy, and England became the scene of great disorders.

Finally Henry II (1154-89) ascended the throne, and with him begins the reign of the Plantagenets. Henry II was a strong ruler, and the barons were again brought into subjection to the crown.

Henry II further improved the administration of the laws, and attempted by the Constitutions of Clarendon to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The clergy were to be subject in temporal matters to royal tribunals. The archbishop of Canterbury, however, the famous Thomas à Becket, protested against the Constitutions of Clarendon, and, being threatened by Henry, left England. On his return he again resumed his former severity against all the members of the clergy who had submitted to the Clarendon Constitutions. In a moment of passion, Henry spoke angry words against this priest, which led to the murder of Thomas à Becket (December 29, 1170) on the steps of the altar in the cathedral at Canterbury. In consequence of the universal horror occasioned by this deed, the king was obliged to yield. He abolished the Clarendon Constitutions and humiliated himself at the tomb of the archbishop. In spite of all, however, Henry in the end enforced his principles and triumphed over the Church. From the reign of Henry also dates the claim of England to rule Ireland. Henry crossed into the island, partially conquered it, and established a claim to be realized by later conquest.

Two of Henry's sons, Richard Cœur de Lion and John Lackland, reigned after him in succession (1189-99). Richard distinguished himself by his courage and chivalry, but he was more interested in the Crusades than in England, whilst John's government led to open opposition, and he lost every contest in which he engaged (1199-1216). He was at first dispossessed of all his hereditary lands on the Loire and Garonne, and of Normandy, by Philip Augustus, king of France. By violating the feudal laws and introducing a system of regular taxation, he roused the anger of the barons, whilst the right of appointment to the archbishopric of Canterbury involved him in a quarrel with the pope, Innocent III. At last John was compelled to give up England to the pope, and to receive it from the latter as a papal fief. This disgraceful transaction, and the tyranny of John, embittered all classes against him. Deprived of the resources he had drawn from his French possessions, hated and distrusted at one and the same time, he was at the mercy of his English subjects. After a vain resistance he signed the Great Charter (*Magna Carta*) in 1215. This was an instrument in which the ancient rights and privileges of the people were clearly defined and guaranteed, and it forms the foundation of the free constitution of England. At Runnymede, a meadow near Windsor, the monarch met his barons, and affixed his seal to the Charter.

This celebrated act, which, after so many centuries, remains the solid basis of English liberty, merited its glorious fortune. It was the triumph not of a class, but of a nation.

With a political sense which could not be too much admired, the barons allied their cause to that of the Church and the common people; they stipulated for the people at the same time as for themselves. It was not only the nobles they protected against the royal despotism, it was everybody; liberty of ecclesiastical elections, confirmation of the privileges of towns and boroughs, guarantees against the arbitrariness of royal officers, trial by jury; all the essential principles of a free government were proclaimed there. From this epoch England, by reason of the Great Charter, had a limited monarchy.

But John Lackland was not the man to be frightened by a false oath, and he immediately violated the Great Charter; but by his duplicity he gave rise to a formidable discontent; in vain to the will of England did he oppose the anathemas of the pope, of whom he had declared himself the vassal. The barons were against him, and called upon Prince Louis, the son of Philip Augustus. But that was an extreme recourse. A foreign alliance was not popular in England. The natives were already too English to give themselves a French master.

And so, when John Lackland died, and his son, Henry III, aged ten years, had signed the Great Charter, all England abandoned Louis of France and recognized the national sovereign (1216).

Henry III (1216-72)—The Statutes of Oxford.—Henry III was, like his father, a weak prince and not too scrupulous, and, moreover, dominated by favourites who were hated by the nation. One of them, the Bishop of Winchester, replied insolently to those who complained: "I am not English; I know not your charters and your laws." Henry III himself signed the Great Charter four times, and four times revoked it, without fear of perjury, in the presence of his people.

Henry's reign was devoid of honour within and of glory without. He was defeated by Saint Louis at Taillebourg and at Saintes (1242), and ceded, by the treaty of Abbeville, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou, reserving only the duchy of Guyenne (1258). Nevertheless, he spent enormous sums on unfortunate attempts to procure for his brother the Imperial crown, and for his son the crown of Naples. His reign, however, is important as regards the constitutional history of England. His misbehaviour led to a great change in the form of the English Parliament, or the national assembly, and gave rise to the House of Commons. In 1258 the public discontent, over-provoked, burst forth with terrible violence.

There was a meeting of the Grand National Council of Oxford, the first which bore officially the name of "Parliament," and this completed the work of the Great Charter, and, so to speak, put the

king in wardship. It elected a council of twenty-four barons, who were to help him on every occasion, to give him their advice on important affairs, and even to vote the great taxes of the State. Henry III submitted; he signed the "Statutes of Oxford," as his father had signed the Great Charter. But, hardly was he free, when he rebelled; he appealed to the pope, who, by virtue of his suzerainty, abolished the Statutes; he offered to submit to the arbitration of Saint Louis, and the barons agreed. The king of France condemned the innovations of Oxford; it was the turn of the barons to rebel and take up arms. They were then under the influence and leadership of Earl Simon de Montfort. Although he had married a sister of Henry III, the royal despotism had no more redoubtable enemy. He consummated that alliance of the aristocracy and the common people, begun in the time of John Lackland, and, fortified by the adhesion of the communes, fought the royal troops at Lewes in 1264, where Henry was defeated and taken prisoner.

The Beginnings of the House of Commons—Definite Organization of Parliament (1265).—Simon de Montfort, master of the king's person, real sovereign of the realm, had the glory of definitely constituting national representation. The celebrated ordinance of 1266, prescribed the election of deputies from the lesser nobles of the counties and the commoners of the towns. This last assembly has become the House of Commons, whilst the first was the origin of the House of Lords.

The same year Simon de Montfort was defeated and slain at Evesham by Prince Edward; but his work did not perish with him; Henry III, delivered, revoked certain claims in the Statutes of Oxford, but he dared no longer attack the Great Charter, and respected it from henceforth.

Edward I (1272–1307).—His son, Edward I, was immensely superior to him by his talents and by the energy of his nature. He vanquished the Celtic tribes of Wales, in spite of their terrific resistance, and gave to his son, as a souvenir of the victory, the title of Prince of Wales, which has since been always borne by the eldest son of the king of England; after some time he conquered Scotland, which Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce defended with more courage than success. Scotland fell into the hands of Edward as a forfeited fief (1296), and the coronation stone of the Scottish kings was brought from Scone to London, and taken to Westminster Abbey, where it is still to be seen. Although Edward detested the yoke imposed on royalty, he never cared openly to rebel against it. He called frequent meetings of Parliament, and to obtain monetary supplies from it, took oath on the Magna Carta more than once.

The rights of the English people were definitely recognized and

placed beyond the possibility of being contested by the end of the thirteenth century. Edward I, it is said, had in his hands a papal bull of Clement V, relieving him from his oath, and annulling all concessions dictated by constraint. The fact that a prince so clever and so enterprising did not make use of such a weapon is the most convincing proof that he judged the cause of absolute power to be irrevocably lost in England.

1307-27.—Edward II was not the man to give back its ancient prerogative to the royal authority. Indolent and weak, he allowed the Scotch to recover their independence under the leadership of their national hero, Robert Bruce, who fought and won the battle of Bannockburn near Stirling (1314), in which Edward's army was almost annihilated. From this year dates the independence of Scotland, and in 1328 Edward III gave up all claim to the Scottish crown. In 1603 Scotland was united to England by James I, who founded the Stuart dynasty. Edward II, who allowed his favourites to govern, could not even protect them against the conspiracies of the nobles. His wife, Isabella of France, the daughter of Philip the Fair, herself headed a conspiracy against him in 1320. Without any attempt at resistance, the king let himself be arrested and dethroned, and perished miserably. It is hardly to be wondered at that national liberty should have made such strides under such a prince. "The consent of the commons," says Hallam, "of which mention is rarely made in the statutes of this epoch, is indicated by two remarkable circumstances, two revolutionary acts: The nomination of the lords as ordainers in 1312, and that of Prince Edward as guardian of the kingdom in the revolt which was terminated by the deposition of the king. It is probable that in this last circumstance the commoners were only put forward to give to the affair a more specious colour; but one may nevertheless consider the mention made of the commoners as a witness to their constitutional right of co-operating with the peers in the dispositions necessitated by some momentary derangement in the executive power."

1327-77.—Edward III, who succeeded his father, was a vigorous and energetic ruler. He checked the encroachments of the pope upon the English Church, and by granting many towns the privilege of sending representatives to Parliament, he increased the number of members in this assembly. The House was consequently divided, nobles and bishops forming the Upper House, or House of Peers, and representatives of towns constituting the Lower House of Parliament. During the reign of Edward the long war of succession between England and France, known as the Hundred Years' War, broke out. On the whole the war was to the advantage of the English, who won the famous battles of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

Reign of Richard II (1377-99)—Usurpation of the Dynasty of Lancaster, Henry IV and Henry V.—The reign of Richard II (1377-99), grandson of Edward III, was a period of trouble and one long anarchy. England, disturbed by the preachings of Wycliffe, one of the precursors of Luther, seemed at first to be menaced by a social revolution; at one time, in 1381, London was in the hands of 60,000 peasants, led by the blacksmith Wat Tyler, who proclaimed the abolition of serfdom and the equality of all men: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" they said. They massacred the chancellor and the primate and forced the king to take refuge in the Tower; but the insurrection was crushed by the feudal troops. During the following years the power escaped from the hands of the populace, passed many times from the Parliament to the king and from the king to the Parliament, the latter exercising it with a pitiless rigour. Finally, in 1399, a last revolution took place; Henry of Lancaster, cousin of the king through his father, third son of Edward III, made a fortunate attempt, obtained possession of the person of Richard II and had him put to death; he then had himself proclaimed king under the name of Henry IV. The Lancaster dynasty thus acquired the crown at the price of an odious crime.

House of Lancaster, Henry IV (1399-1413).—The new king usurped the throne, not only at the expense of the unfortunate Richard II, but also at that of the House of Clarence, descended from the second son of Edward III. Thus the claim of Lancaster was hotly contested. On the very day of his proclamation Henry caused forty gauntlets to be thrown down in the Parliament, in sign of defiance. They were not taken up and his son Henry V, by the popularity of his reign and the glory of Agincourt, caused the stain on the origin of the new dynasty to be forgotten. But his premature death delivered England over to civil discords (1422).

Henry VI (1422-61) was only a few months old at his father's death, and his minority lasted almost as long as his reign. The unfortunate prince, grandson of Charles VI of France, had inherited a feebleness of mind which finally turned to madness. Thus the government remained feeble and divided, while on the Continent the English arms were constantly conquered by the French, for so long defeated and scorned. But the English would only explain their reverses by treason. The same pride which made them burn Joan of Arc, caused them to rise against Henry VI, or rather against those who exercised the power in his name. This prince had married in 1444, Margaret of Anjou, a Frenchwoman, and at what a price? That of ceding to his father-in-law Anjou and

Maine, and paying a dowry instead of receiving one himself. Ambitious and energetic Margaret soon gained the ascendant over her feeble spouse, and profited by it to govern in the French manner without regard to the liberties of Parliament or the susceptibilities of the national pride.

Power of the Nobility—Warwick the King-maker.—The public discontent, however, was the more to be feared that royalty was also opposed by a powerful and proud aristocracy which had not ceased to grow in strength and audacity since the time of the Great Charter and of Simon de Montfort. "While the annual revenue of the crown," says Michelet, "had fallen from £5,000 sterling, several great families had amassed royal fortunes by marriages and successions. The Earl of Warwick alone, the last and most illustrious example of feudal hospitality, fed daily on his lands as many as 30,000 persons. When he kept up a household in London his friends and vassals consumed six oxen at a meal. This colossal fortune was accompanied by all the talents of a political leader. How shall we be astonished that he obtained the name of King-maker?" The unpopularity of the government grew as English pride received new wounds on the Continent. Already in 1447, the queen was accused of having poisoned "the good duke" Gloucester, adored by the nation because he opposed the French marriage and preached war against France on every occasion. In 1450, after the loss of Normandy Suffolk, one of the ministers, pursued as a traitor by Parliament, was arrested at sea by a man-of-war, and after a pretence of trial, beheaded by the sailors. Shortly afterwards an adventurer, Jack Cade, at the head of the peasants of Kent whom he had incited to rebellion entered London and punished Lord Say, treasurer of the realm. The insurrection was suppressed, but it had shown the feebleness of the government; on every hand people began to discuss the claim of the House of Lancaster; the thoughts of the discontented began to turn towards Richard of York.

Wars of the Roses.—England was soon divided into two parties; that of York dominated in London and in the provinces of the south-east, which had suffered the most from the loss of the French provinces; it took for symbol a white rose. The Lancastrian party, powerful in the counties of the north and west, had as a rallying sign a red rose. Thence the name of the Wars of the Roses. A long and horrible contest ensued, during which a series of massacres decimated the two parties in turn. It was not the principles of government that were at stake, but passions and rival ambitions. Royalty and Parliament were only the playthings of a turbulent and ferocious aristocracy.

Richard of York, at first conqueror, proclaimed by Parliament

protector of the realm and heir-presumptive of the crown, was vanquished and killed at the battle of Wakefield (1460). Margaret of Anjou, who displayed in the defence of the rights of her husband and her son all the intrepidity but also all the cruelty of the men of her time, caused the protector's head to be cut off and had it placed on the wall of the city of York. One of his sons, the Earl of Rutland, seventeen years of age, was stopped as he was flying with his tutor, and murdered in cold blood. "Thus," says Michelet, "these barbarities seem to have opened a gulf between the two parties. Scaffolds were henceforth erected on the field of battle and awaited the vanquished."

Edward IV (1461-83).—*Defeat of Margaret of Anjou at Towton* (1461).—The victory of Margaret of Anjou was not decisive. The party of the White Rose, all-powerful in London, recognized the young Edward of York as Edward IV, and a brilliant success soon consecrated the new king, for at the battle of Towton the Lancastrians suffered an irreparable disaster; 38,000 men, it is said, having perished there (1461). The heads of their leaders replaced on the walls of York those of Richard of York and his partisans. However, the indomitable Margaret of Anjou did not give up the strife. She took refuge in France and made preparations for a new war, and soon found the most precious and least-expected help, the alliance of the King-maker. Nobody had contributed to the success of the House of York more than Warwick; he had hoped to reign under the name of Edward IV; not finding the latter docile enough he accused him of ingratitude and tried to dethrone him, but he was compelled to take refuge in France. Louis XI valued men of Warwick's stamp; he undertook to reconcile him with Margaret of Anjou. Neither of them, as he knew, was embarrassed by vain scruples and the fifteenth century had little respect for political morality. Nevertheless, contemporaries were astonished at the reconciliation of Margaret of Anjou and Warwick, negotiated by Louis XI. The King-maker in his thirst for vengeance forgot that his father had been beheaded by the queen's order, Margaret forgot her own ruin and that of her husband and son and the massacre of her most faithful followers.

Final Triumph of Edward IV (1471).—In 1470 Warwick was again in England, where he found himself surrounded by numerous partisans. Edward IV was taken by surprise; he fled to the Low Countries to the Duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law. The Red Rose seemed finally victorious; but before six months had passed the dethroned king returned to England, and with help furnished by Charles the Bold, killed Warwick at Barnet, and cut in pieces at Tewkesbury the last troops of Margaret of Anjou. This was the end. The queen was in the hands of the conqueror, her life was

spared, but her son, the Prince of Wales, was less fortunate. "Why were you so bold as to enter my realm?" Edward IV asked him. "I came," replied the young prince, "to defend my father's crown and my own inheritance." Edward struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and allowed him to be slain by his brothers. As for the unfortunate Henry VI, sad plaything of so many furious passions, he was still a prisoner in the Tower of London. He died there, it is said, by the hand of the Duke of Gloucester, one of the brothers of Edward IV (1471).

Edward IV seemed to lose on the throne the activity and energy that had gained him his victory. Once only he broke through his habits of indolence and pleasure. This was when he directed an expedition against France to renew the glories of Crécy and Agincourt, but which was terminated at the end of a few weeks by the Treaty of Pecquigny (1475). He remained faithful, however, to his habits of cruelty. In 1478 he had one of his brothers, the Duke of Clarence, who was accused of treason, put to death. Clarence was allowed to choose the manner of his death, and asked to be drowned in a butt of malmsey. Edward IV, still young, died in 1483.

1483-85.—*Richard III—Murder of Edward's Children* (1483).—His son, Edward V, was a child, and the Duke of Gloucester caused himself to be named Lord Protector. Ambitious and cruel, he neglected nothing to secure the success of the usurpation he meditated. He seized the persons of the young king and his brother, got rid, by imprisonment or death, of those whose devotion he feared, and finally took possession of the crown under the name of Richard III. The children of Edward, shut up in the Tower, never reappeared. A long time afterwards the skeletons of the two children were found under the staircase of the Tower (1483). But Richard III did not long enjoy the fruit of his crime. Henry Tudor, the last of the House of Lancaster, returned from France where he had taken refuge, and gathered round him all who detested or feared the odious tyrant of England. At the battle of Bosworth Field Richard III was abandoned by his oldest partisans. From that moment his destruction was certain. He threw himself into the thick of the fight and was killed. With him ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had reigned for over three centuries (1485). The battle of Bosworth Field marked the close of the Wars of the Roses. The diadem which had fallen from the head of Richard on the field of battle was placed on that of Henry, elected as King Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty.

FRANCE

The royal power and authority increased in France under the rule of Louis the Fat (1108-37), who found an able minister in the person of Abbé Segur of St. Denis. Under this king were begun the emancipation of the serfs and the formation of the Tiers État. Under Louis VII, son of Louis the Fat (1137-80), great disturbances, however, broke out. Louis' divorced wife, Eleanor of Poitou, Guyenne and Gascoigne, had married Duke Henry Plantagenet of Normandy, who also owned the counties of Anjou, Maine and Touraine, and when Henry ascended the throne of England the greater part of France was thus united to England, a circumstance which was bound to bring about great trouble for France.

Louis' son, Philip Augustus or Philip II (Augustus) (1180-1223), was successful in subduing the rebellious barons and nobles, such as the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. He also seized the counties of Anjou, Maine and Touraine, which had belonged to provinces of the English king, John Lackland, who had succeeded his brother Richard.

Louis VIII (1223-26).—Louis VIII and Louis IX (1226-70) further increased the power of France by adding several other provinces in the south of France. Louis IX, known as Saint Louis, established order and tranquillity in France, and ameliorated the Courts of Justice. The power was transferred from the feudal lords to the king, and the latter became more autocratic.

Crusade against the Albigenses (1207-29).—During the reign of Philip Augustus a holy war was carried on against the Albigenses, a sect in the south of France who had embraced heretic doctrines. Pope Innocent III preached a crusade against them. The sect was almost entirely extirpated, and the war came to an end under Louis IX. Raymond, count of Toulouse, who supported the heretics, lost the eastern part of his possessions, which were thus acquired by the French crown. Louis IX also founded the Sorbonne (called after his Chancellor Sorbon), or Theological College, in Paris, which henceforth became the centre of theological learning in France.

St. Louis was succeeded on the French throne by Philip III (1270-85), who added the county of Toulouse to the royal domain, and also acquired the territory of Navarre. But the reign of Philip's successor, his eldest son, Philip the Fair (1285-1314), was of much more importance, and exercised a great and far-reaching influence upon the history of France. Philip IV, or the Fair, made France one of the leading Powers in Europe. During his reign privileges and liberties were granted to the citizens, and for the first time the commons sent representatives to the feudal assembly, or the States

General. This event in French history may be compared to the summoning of the House of Commons in England. During his reign the long-standing rivalry between the papacy and the empire reached a climax. A dispute had arisen between Philip IV and the Pope Boniface VIII concerning Church revenues. The pope was kept prisoner in his native town of Anagni, where he was attacked and maltreated by the king's chancellor, Nogaret. After the death of Boniface, Pope Clement V, who was a Frenchman by birth, yielded to Philip's persuasions and transferred the papal seat from Rome to Avignon (1305). For seventy years the Roman Catholic Church thus remained under the influence of the French court, and this period is known as the "Babylonian Captivity." Clement also delivered into Philip's hands the Order of the Templars, whose vast wealth had excited the king's avarice; for Philip was constantly in debt. He filled his treasury by means of various fresh taxes, confiscations and heavy loans, and he persecuted and expelled the Jews from France in order to seize their possessions. Philip was succeeded by his three sons in turn, Louis X, le Hutin (1314-16), Philip V, the Long (1316-22), and Charles IV (1322-28). They all died without leaving any male heirs, and as, according to the ancient Salic law, the crown could not pass through the female line, the French throne fell to Philip of Valois, the next male heir.

FRANCE UNDER THE HOUSE OF VALOIS (1328-1589)

The Hundred Years' War.—Thus the House of Capet was succeeded by that of Valois. The first king of this line was Philip VI (1328-47). But Edward III of England, son of a daughter of Philip the Fair, asserted his rights and laid claim to the throne of France. A long war—that of the Franco-British succession, known as the Hundred Years' War—ensued. After a bloody contest the battle of Crécy was fought in 1346, and, in spite of their superiority in numbers, the French were defeated, the English gaining a splendid victory, thanks to the valour of the Black Prince, the heroic son of Edward III, and Calais fell into the hands of the victor. Philip died in the following year, and was succeeded by his passionate son, John the Good (1350-64). In the continued war for the contested throne of France, John was beaten by the Black Prince in the battle of Poitiers (1356) and brought a prisoner to London. This misfortune led to an insurrection of the citizens and peasants against the nobles, and France was brought to the verge of ruin. The insurrection, or Jacquerie, was at last quelled by the nobles, and the devastations and outrages came to an end. The war with England in the meantime continued. At last peace was concluded at Bretigny (1360), John agreeing to surrender Calais and the provinces of Poitou and Guyenne to

Edward III, and also promising a heavy ransom for his own liberty. On his return to France John invested his youngest son, Philip the Bold, with the duchy of Burgundy (1363). But as the collection of the money for his ransom was delayed, he voluntarily returned to London, and died in honourable captivity.

John the Good was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles V, the Wise (1364-80).

Charles V restored the power and prestige of France, and his heroic general, Bertrand du Guesclin, recovered all their former conquests from the English.

During the reign, however, of his insane son and successor, Charles VI (1380-1422), the kingdom was governed by his avaricious uncle, Louis of Anjou, and again brought almost to the verge of ruin. Henry V of England, availing himself of this troubled state of affairs in France, demanded the lost English provinces, and when his request was not acceded to he entered France by way of Calais, and won the famous battle of Agincourt (1415), in consequence of which he became master of Normandy. Five years later the Treaty of Troyes was concluded, and the north of France and Burgundy recognized Henry VI of England as their legitimate king. Charles VI had died, and his son, Charles VII (1422-61), ascended the throne. As the terms of the Treaty of Troyes were not carried out, the war broke out afresh. The English laid siege to Orleans, and France seemed to be lost. But in this moment of great distress an unexpected deliverer appeared in the person of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, a peasant girl from the village of Domremy. She had been brooding over her country's misfortunes and sufferings, and at last thought that she saw visions and heard voices from above, bidding her to undertake the delivery of France. She appeared before the king, informed him that she had a mission from heaven, and had been sent by the Virgin Mary to relieve Orleans and to take the French king to Rheims to be crowned. She revived the enthusiasm of the soldiers, compelled the English to raise the siege, and saw Charles crowned at Rheims. Having thus accomplished her mission, she now wished to retire to her native village, but the king, perceiving her moral influence over the soldiers, begged her to remain. Reluctantly she yielded to his request, and soon fell into the hands of the English. The latter handed her over to the Inquisition, and she was accused of sorcery, witchcraft and heresy, and burned at the stake at Rouen (1431). The English, nevertheless, lost all their possessions in France, even Normandy and Guyenne, and in 1453 only Calais remained to them. Thus ended the Hundred Years' War. Charles VII was succeeded by his son Louis XI (1461-83), a despot, who availed himself of every possible means to increase and enhance the

royal authority. He was successful in arranging a nine years' truce with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and transformed France from a feudal league into a true monarchy. His policy was consistently carried out by his successors, Charles VIII (1483-98) and Louis XII (1498-1575). The former had married the heiress of Brittany and thus added this dukedom to France. He also laid claim to Naples, invaded Italy, gained brilliant successes, but was forced to retreat after sustaining heavy losses.

Chapter XI

THE GROWTH OF NATIONS (*continued*)

GERMANY.—End of the Rivalry between Papacy and the Empire—Guelphs and Ghibellines—Frederick Barbarossa—Innocent III—Frederick II—The Papal Victory—The great Interregnum—Rudolf of Hapsburg—Rise of the Swiss Republic—The War of the Hussites—Maximilian I.

ITALY.—The Italian Towns—The Kingdoms of Sicily—Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Savonarola, Rome, Cola Rienzi.

GERMANY

End of the Rivalry between Papacy and the Empire—The Guelphs and the Ghibellines in Germany and Italy.

THE strife over the investiture was only the beginning of the struggle between Papacy and the Empire. Suspended rather than terminated by the Concordat of Worms in 1122, it recommenced almost immediately under another form; for the very complex question of the Church and the State presented to the Middle Ages still more difficulties than it does to-day. The Church, at that time semi-feudal, was on the one hand allied to the prince by the obligations of vassalage, and lived in a narrow dependence, whilst on the other hand the emperor derived his legitimate authority from his consecration by this very Church. The war between the two powers, so happily united in the days of Charlemagne, went on until the twelfth or thirteenth century with deplorable fury; the claims on both sides being equally unconditional. The successor of the Cæsars demanded unlimited authority; with the jurisconsults of Imperial Rome he declared "the prince's word is law," but was not the pope the sovereign of souls, the common judge of kings and people? The battle, once begun, could not terminate save by the complete ruin of one of the two adversaries.

The ambitious and clever princes who governed the Empire at this time would doubtlessly have triumphed over the pontifical pretensions, had not the court of Rome found support in the feudality of the Germans and the patriotism of the Italians. In Germany, as in Italy, the emperors of the Hohenstaufen dynasty were constantly paralyzed by the lack of discipline or by actual revolts among their

vassals ; it was, in fact, one of these great German houses—the House of Guelph—the possessors of Bavaria and Saxony, who became the rallying-post of the enemies of imperial authority on both sides of the Alps, whilst the partisans of the emperor were called “Ghibellines,” or Waiblings, after the castle of Weiblingen, where the Hohenstaufen family had originated.

Frederick Barbarossa (1152–90).—The war broke out with violence under Frederick Barbarossa. This prince seemed for a moment destined to reconstitute the power of Charlemagne and of Otto the Great ; he pacified Germany, made his authority respected in the vassal kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, Poland and Hungary ; finally, in 1154, at the command of the pope he crossed the Alps at the head of a numerous army. He appeared in Italy as master and protector of the Holy See, loudly affirming his intention to put an end to anarchy and to right all the wrongs of the different States. But the Italian towns, enriched by commerce and industry, had formed small republics, jealous of their rights. Those of Lombardy united together to protect themselves against the ambition of the emperor. Frederick was soon surrounded by enemies ; after having conquered and led to torture Arnold of Brescia, the eloquent and generous tribune whose life-long dream had been to resuscitate the grandeurs of the Roman Republic, he saw turning against him the very force he had just restored ; the pope, Alexander III, united himself to the league of the Lombard towns to defend the common liberty of the Holy See and of Italy. In vain the emperor, at first victorious, made himself declared by the jurisconsults of Boulogne the “vicar of God on earth” ; in vain, in 1158, did he destroy Milan and hunt Alexander III out of Rome ; far from intimidating the Italians, it only exasperated them. At the appeal of the pope, the entire peninsula rose up against the dominion of a foreigner ; all Frederick’s efforts failed before that new town of Alexandria that the Italians had just built in honour of the protector of Italian liberty. At last, in 1177, he was completely defeated at the decisive battle of Legnano. That was an end of his claims to rule over Italy ; as formerly Henry IV at Canossa, he was reduced to humbling himself before the pope and asking for peace. At Venice he kissed the pope’s feet as a sign of submission, handed him the stirrup and led his horse by the bridle. Six years later the Treaty of Constance (1183) solemnly recognized the independence of the Italian State. From thenceforth each town, each principality, could govern itself as it pleased, and form alliances. The magistrates were obliged, it is true, to swear an oath of fidelity to the emperor ; but, if he still retained some purely honorary prerogatives and some feudal rights, the chief of the Holy Roman-German Empire no longer exercised any real power in Italy.

On his return to Germany, Frederick Barbarossa revenged himself on Henry the Lion, the chief of the House of Guelph, whose disloyalty had caused the loss of the battle of Legnano. He banished him from the empire, took from him his grand-duchies of Bavaria, Saxony and Pomerania, and gave them to his friends. After having possessed half Germany, Henry the Lion barely retained the ancient patrimony of Luneberg and Brunswick.

Peace re-established in Germany, Frederick desired to conduct the Third Crusade to Jerusalem, but he did not even reach Syria, perishing in Cilicia in the waters of the Seleph (1190).

Innocent III.—The Peace of Constance had consecrated the triumph of the papacy. The great emperor dead, the empire delivered over to anarchy, papacy now hoped to seize the sceptre of the dominion of the world. Never had it shown more faith in itself.

Innocent III exercised with incomparable grandeur this universal magistracy of the papacy. "God has placed us on the throne," he wrote to Philip Augustus, "not only that we may judge the people, but also that we may judge princes." His acts were in accordance with his words. Rome, which had often escaped the authority of his predecessors, received a new administration and remained in his hands obedient and peaceful: territories which for a long time had been claimed by the emperor were reunited to the domain of St. Peter; a crusade, propagated by his orders, ended in the creation of a Latin empire at Constantinople. At the same time, the pope defended throughout the whole of Europe the sacred rights of morality and religion; he forced John Lackland to recognize himself as the pope's vassal, and excommunicated a usurper of the Norwegian throne. But this sort of universal domination had also its dangers. He himself deplored, it is said, the excesses perpetrated during the crusade against the "Albigenses," which, in the extermination of heresy, covered with blood and ruins the centre of France.

In short, Innocent III did his utmost to quench the spirit of independence in the subjects of the empire. He banished from the empire the House of Hohenstaufen, whom he judged too dangerous to the safety of Italy, and transferred his favour to Otto IV of Brunswick. But as the latter did not prove sufficiently docile he excommunicated him, and endeavoured to restore the Ghibellines. He himself gave Germany the choice of Frederick Barbarossa's grandson, flattering himself that the new king would, out of sheer gratitude, bend the knee in homage to the papal supremacy. He made him promise to increase the Church's privileges in Germany, to recognize as papal property those provinces acquired by the Pope,

and to give up the kingdom of Naples, inherited from his mother, for in his eyes the liberty of Italy was threatened if the emperor possessed so vast a territory.

Frederick II (1218-50.)—When he became emperor, Frederick II at first demonstrated the utmost deference towards the Holy See; but after the death of Innocent III he forgot his promises. By education more Italian than German, he could not resign himself to leave that beautiful country of Sicily, which was his real fatherland. He lived there surrounded by a court of savants and poets, elegant, refined, and sceptical—a court in which Saracens, Christians, and Jews had equal rights.

The old protégé of the Holy See appeared vastly indifferent to the faith, and even, it is said, had a leaning towards Mohammedanism. Once again pope and emperor were at daggers drawn. “He says,” wrote the pope, “that the world has been deceived by three impostors—Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mohammed, and he places the two last, who died covered with glory, above Jesus Christ, who died on a cross.” As in the preceding struggles, the pope found partisans among the Guelphs of Italy and Germany. Nevertheless, for a long time Frederick II had success on his side. He defeated his son Henry, who had sided with the enemy, scattered the troops of the Lombard towns at Corte-Nuova in 1237; forced Pope Innocent IV to leave Rome and to seek refuge in France; but, like Frederick Barbarossa, he ended in being defeated. Solemnly dethroned and excommunicated by Innocent IV at the Council of Lyons, in 1245 he had the pain of seeing his favourite son, Enzo the Fair, fall into the hands of the Guelphs of Italy, who refused to liberate him at any price. In the midst of preparing his plans for vengeance, he died suddenly in 1250.

The Papal Victory.—The pope emerged triumphant from this terrific struggle. Conrad IV, son of Frederick II, did not succeed in establishing his authority in the empire, and died at the end of four years. Manfred and Conradin, the first the natural brother and the second the son of Conrad, remained the sole representatives of the House of Hohenstaufen. The court of Rome opposed to them Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint-Louis, to whom Pope Clement IV had granted the kingdom of Sicily. Manfred was defeated and slain at Beneventum in 1266, and Conradin was beheaded at Naples in 1268. So complete a success seemed to affirm for some time the papal power. At the Jubilee in the year 1300, Boniface VIII, surrounded by 180,000 pilgrims, appeared in public with the Imperial embellishments, and before him were borne the sword, the goblet, and the sceptre, the symbols of his omnipotence. In the following year, in the course of his quarrel with Philip the Fair, he

assembled at Rome a council "for the examination of abuses in the government of France, and the application of a remedy." But these regal pretensions necessarily demanded great material support. In 1303 Philip the Fair struck the first blow at the prestige of the Holy See. Germany and England were to follow the example of France, for the nations, from thenceforth independent, felt themselves capable of existing without the protection of that authority which hitherto they had accepted with gratitude.

The Great Interregnum (1250-73).—It was not only the House of Hohenstaufen that fell with Frederick II in 1250; it was the Imperial authority itself which was completely overthrown both north and south of the Alps. Manfred and Conradin, last representatives of the House of Swabia, fell in Italy, and in Germany for more than twenty years no emperor could make his authority recognized. During this period of anarchy, the Imperial rights were usurped, the Imperial domains pillaged. The immediate lords, or those who owed direct allegiance to the emperor, became completely independent, and the towns formed themselves into republics with almost royal rights. The power of the County Palatine, the archbishoprics of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves date from this period.

Such was the confusion without a central power, that in many places the lords and the towns formed leagues to mutually protect one another. The most celebrated of these leagues was the Hanseatic, which in the fifteenth century comprised all the towns of Germany and extended from Flanders to Russia, had its factories from London to Novgorod, and owned nearly the whole of the commerce of the North Sea and the Baltic.

Rudolf of Hapsburg.—At last the princes to whom the right of electing an emperor belonged decided to fix their choice upon Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273-93), whose moderate estates occasioned no alarm. Rudolf avoided all interference in the affairs of Italy, which he termed "a lion's cavern," where you can perceive the traces of those who entered but none of those who left it. He devoted his energies to Germany, regained many lands which had been wrested from the empire during the interregnum, and restored law and order.

Rise of the Swiss Republic.—During the reign of one of Rudolf's successors, Albert of Austria, a cruel, gloomy, one-eyed prince, the foundation was laid of the Helvetic confederation, or the Swiss Republic. This country formed a part of the Roman Empire, and was governed by prefects. The Dukes of Austria, now princes of the empire, attempted to bring the cantons under the sovereignty of Austria; but the liberty-loving mountaineers, although nominally acknowledging the rule of the emperor, rebelled against the oppression exercised by the governors (or "Vögte") who ruled in the name

of the Dukes of Austria. A memorable struggle was sustained between oppressors and oppressed.

The three oldest cantons then concluded an alliance on the Rutli for the protection of their liberties. The governor was expelled, and the most tyrannical Vogt—Gesler—is said to have been killed with an arrow shot by William Tell. The Emperor Albert having in the meantime been assassinated by his nephew, John of Swabia (Parricida), his son Leopold took up his father's plans. But the Swiss fought the famous battle of Sempach (1386), in which Arnold von Winkelried is reported to have broken the ranks of the enemy. The Swiss had proved themselves worthy of the liberty which they henceforth vowed to maintain.

In 1437 Albert of Austria ascended the Imperial throne of Germany, and henceforth the crown remained hereditary in the House of Habsburg until 1806.

The Imperial authority had, however, fallen into contempt, the princes having made themselves almost independent; but with the accession of Maximilian I (1493–1519), whose reign forms the transition period between mediæval and modern times, the Imperial authority was again greatly enhanced.

The War of the Hussites (1416–36).—Another memorable event in the history of Germany during the fifteenth century was the War of the Hussites. John Huss, rector of the University of Prague, professed the heretical doctrines formerly upheld by Wycliffe in England, and afterwards promulgated by Luther. He was followed by the majority of the people of the Slavonic race in Bohemia, the Germans remaining as defenders of orthodoxy. Cited to appear before the Council of Constance, his doctrines were condemned and he was burnt at the stake with his chief disciple, Jerome of Prague. His followers rose in arms to avenge them, seized the town of Prague, and threw the burgomaster and twelve senators out of the window on to the spears ready to receive them. The Emperor Sigismund thereupon put twenty-three of the rebel leaders to death, and threw 1,600 sectarians into the Kuttenberg mines. The war was both religious and racial, and for fourteen years, that is, from 1419 to 1433, not only Bohemia but all Southern Germany was put to fire and sword. The Hussites, led first by John Ziska, and later by an old monk, Procop ("the Shaver"), destroyed, it is said, 200 towns and castles and 1,400 villages in Germany. Bohemia was finally pacified by the Treaty of Iglan.

Maximilian I, whose reign forms the transition period between mediæval and modern times, was particularly successful in the aggrandizement of the Austrian power. By his marriage with Mary of Burgundy he became master of the Low Countries, and on the eve of his expedition to Italy, he forced Charles VIII to cede to

him Artois and Franche-Comté. A few years later he inherited the Tyrol, Alsace, and Brisgau in Illyria. In 1496 he married his son, Philip the Fair, to the mad Queen Joanna, heiress of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon; in 1515 he arranged a marriage between his grandson, Ferdinand of Austria, and the sister of Louis II, king of Bohemia and Hungary. The first marriage gave the whole of Spain and southern Italy to Austria, and the second added to these Hungary and Bohemia. Maximilian died in 1519, after arranging for the election as his successor of his grandson Charles of Austria, king of Spain and Naples, the famous Charles V.

ITALY

At the close of the Middle Ages, instead of forming a powerful monarchy, Italy had no national or regular government and was divided into divers isolated states. The rivalry between pope and emperor greatly contributed to this unfortunate state of affairs. The papacy had been weakened by the western schism; the pope, Boniface VIII, on his return from Avignon, where he had been compelled to take refuge, found himself again threatened by the pretensions of the Councils of Constance and Bâle, and by the progress of the Crescent. His spiritual power had been attacked by the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII, his temporal power defied even in Rome itself.

Charles of Anjou, who, with the assistance of the papacy, had become master of the two Sicilies, seemed at one time on the point of dominating Italy under the title of Imperial Vicar, but the court of Rome was defiant and even hostile, and the Italian towns were ready to accept him as a friend, but not as a master. The Sicilian Vespers in 1282 at last put an end to his ambitious designs. His successors, reduced to the kingdom of Naples, reigned in the midst of intrigues and civil war. The Queen Joanna I, murderess of her husband, died a violent death in 1382. Her will was in favour of Louis of Anjou, brother of Charles V, but he could not triumph over his rival, Charles de Durazzo, and died on the plain of Bari in 1384, Charles de Durazzo following him to the grave two years later. His daughter, Joanna II, plunged the country again into civil war by choosing as successor, first Alphonse the Magnanimous, and then René of Anjou. After several years of civil war Alphonse the Magnanimous became master of the two Sicilies, and at his death left Naples to his natural son, Ferdinand I, who reigned until the wars of Italy. As to King René, his power was nominal, but his rights passed on to Louis XI and his successors, which was the origin of the French incursions into Italy.

In Upper Italy the Republics of Genoa and Venice had risen to marvellous prosperity by their navigation and trade. Venice was governed by an oligarchy composed of those families whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book. This oligarchy, through distrust of the Doges, had made their office one of election, and through distrust of the people it had little by little despoiled the Assembly of the people of all its prerogatives and invested the Grand Council and the Senate with sovereign power. All the conspiracies set on foot by the Doges to overthrow the aristocracy were discovered, and in 1355 the Doge Marino Faliero was condemned to death and beheaded on the steps of his palace for having incited the workmen of the arsenal to revolt. It was the mission of the terrible Council of Ten to discover all plots; they were invested with unlimited power, and their implacable vengeance has rendered famous the Lion of St. Mark, in whose mouth the denunciations were placed. In 1454 the institution of the "Three Inquisitors of State," invested with the power to bring to punishment even a member of the Council of Ten, was founded, and the government of Venice then became the most despotic of any in Europe, but it must be admitted that as far as the peaceful masses were concerned, it was also the most tolerant.

Venice, enjoying as it did an almost impregnable position, was able to develop freely, industrially and commercially, and became the first naval power of mediæval Europe. It was no vain ceremony that of the marriage of the Doge with the sea, which took place every Ascension Day. By the Fourth Crusade Venice acquired two quarters of Constantinople and the most important of the islands and stations of the Eastern Mediterranean. Genoa, the proud rival of Venice, attempted in vain to check her progress by a war which lasted nearly a century, from 1293 to 1381. Venice was always in the long run victorious. At the close of the Middle Ages, in spite of the Turkish conquests, she still possessed some important towns in the Morea, the Island of Candia and Cyprus. Genoa, whose victory over Pisa had brought her Sardinia and Corsica, was also wealthy and powerful, but she was ill-fitted, on account of the incessant civil discords, to compete with Venice. The quarrels between aristocrats and democrats, the Grimaldi, the Fieschi, the Doria, and the Spinola, perpetuated the anarchy which reigned in Genoa. In the hopes of peace the Genoese welcomed foreign masters, first Charles VI of France, then the Visconti of Milan and finally the Florentines. The inconstancy of the people discouraged each in his turn, until the protectorate being offered to Louis XI, he refused with the words, "The Genoese give themselves to me, I give them to the devil."

Milan was one of the chief Italian towns at the time of the struggle

against the emperors ; in the thirteenth century it still counted 200,000 inhabitants, and was one of the important commercial centres of Europe. Its prosperity was ruined by civil discord and it fell a prey to the tyranny of the Visconti, one of whom, Barnabo Visconti, forbade the citizens to go out at night under pain of having a foot cut off. When the family was extinct, Milan had lost land and liberty, and in less than three years the Visconti had a successor in Francisco Sforza, one of those adventurers who, under the name of Condottieri—that is to say, mercenaries—constituted the only military force of Italy. Sforza's son was assassinated, but Milan still remained enslaved.

Florence suffered the same fate as the rest of the towns of Italy, and after a period of liberty it became the patrimony of one family. In the fourteenth century it was, with Venice, the richest town of Italy, its population numbered 80,000 and it manufactured 80,000 pieces of cloth, which were dispatched throughout Western Europe. Unfortunately, however, Florence did not escape the fate of Milan and Genoa. It suffered greatly from civil discord, the Ghibellines, representing the nobles, and the Guelphs representing the people, fought for many years for supremacy. At the close of the thirteenth century the Guelphs were victorious, and instantly divided into two factions, the Black and the White, who troubled the city with their dissensions. The black plague which in 1348 decimated the inhabitants interrupted the quarrels, but was a fatal blow to the grandeur of Florence. However, the victory of the Ciompi and the preponderance of the Albizzi family restored something of its ancient prosperity to the town. The Albizzi gave place to the Medici, and for thirty years Cosmo de Medici (1428–64) was the Pericles of Florence. While himself leading the simplest of lives, he expended thirty-two millions in enriching the Republic with palaces, hospitals, and libraries. His son, Peter I, exercised the same authority without opposition. The administration of Lorenzo de Medici, surnamed the Magnificent, was no less popular ; he surrounded himself with scholars, poets and artists, and was called the Father of Letters. On his death the Republic fell once more a prey to internal dissensions. The mystic Dominican Savonarola protested loudly against the corruption and luxury made fashionable by the Medici, and with passionate eloquence prophesied the downfall of Florence. Savonarola, the bold prophet of Florence, was excommunicated by the Pope and condemned to be burned as a corrupter of the people and disturber of the Church.

Italy was at this period the first country in Europe ; nowhere was the land better cultivated and more thickly populated, the towns more flourishing and commerce more active, and literature and the arts more honoured. But this brilliant society was undermined by

vice; religion and the military spirit were dead, the only military force were the mercenaries, the Condottieri, who were ready to fight for the best paymaster.

Italy did not realize the advantages of a policy of concord and unity, she was accustomed to seeing foreign powers intervene in her affairs. The French were at Genoa, and the Aragonese at Naples, yet Lorenzo de Medici refused absolution on his deathbed rather than accede to Savonarola's demand that Florence should be set free. When Roderic Borgia became pope under the name of Alexander VI, then indeed, as Savonarola had prophesied, was the moment of Italy's downfall imminent.

As for Rome, the seat of the Papal See, the city was in a state of great confusion during the greater part of the fourteenth century. Violence and lawlessness, occasioned by the quarrels of the families Colonna and Orsini, reigned during the absence of the popes, who resided in Avignon. In the midst of these disorders Nicola di Rienzi, a son of the people, appeared as a deliverer. He endeavoured to restore peace and order and to re-establish the Republican constitution. With the title of Tribune he succeeded in placing himself at the head of the government; Rienzi's dream was the unification of Italy, of all the cities and principalities into one great republic. But the moment had not yet arrived for the fulfilment of this dream of union. Rienzi's success had turned his head; pride and vanity led to his downfall. Excessive taxes alienated from him the favour of the people, and he was killed in a sudden popular commotion.

Chapter XII

THE GROWTH OF NATIONS (*continued*)

SPAIN.—Spain in the Middle Ages—Christians and Moors—The Caliphate of Cordova—The Christian Kingdoms—Portugal—Ferdinand and Isabella—The Conquest of Granada—Expulsion of the Moors—Scandinavia—Harold Fairhair—The Union of Colmar—Poland and Hungary—Poland under the Piasti—The Dynasty of Jagello—Casimir the Great—Hungary—Arpad—The Conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity—Matthias Corvinus—Dissolution of Hungary—Russia—The Varangian Brothers—Rurik—The Town of Kiev—The Mongol Invasion—The Principality of Moscow—The Golden Horde—Ivan Vassilevich.

FORMATION OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY

Spain in the Middle Ages—Conflicts between the Christians and Moors.

THE Iberian Peninsula is by its physical conformation opposed to political unity. Its central plateau, without navigable floods, intersected by mountains and deserts, only communicates by narrow defiles with the coast regions. The provincial spirit was formerly strongly developed, and Christian Spain took seven centuries to conquer its independence and found its territorial unity. After the battle of Xeres, in 711, the Peninsula came under Arab rule, or rather under that of Moslem Moors from Africa, who founded in 756 the Caliphate of Cordova.

Christians and Moors were as different in manners as in religion. "On one side were the Moors," says Michelet, "a set of merchants crowded together in rich cities, enervated by the baths, the climate and the peaceable pursuits of agriculture, occupied in delightful valleys, in fruit growing and the silk industry, a quick and ingenious nation living only for music and the dance, loving gay clothes and adorning itself even in the tomb ; on the other, a silent people clothed in sombre raiment, only caring for war, and war to the death, leaving to the Jews commerce and science, a race proud in its independence, terrible in love and in religion. Each man considered himself noble." The Caliphate of Cordova was strengthened under the bold, wise and learned Abderrahman II, although it had to fight with the Franks on the Ebro, the West Goths, who dwelt in the mountains of the Asturias and Biscay, and at home. In the ninth

century the Arabs established their rule over Sicily (Syracuse fell in 878), which rose to new prosperity under them. Lower Italy and Campania were also long under their dominion.

This caliphate enjoyed its greatest power under Abderrahman III (912-61), who, indeed, succeeded in arduous fight with the Christians (Goths and Franks); but it was the boldness with which he at the same time fought his enemy in Europe, and subdued nearly all Mauretania in South Africa, the splendour of his court, and the blossoming of Arabian art and learning which aroused the wonder of his contemporaries, so that even Christians from Europe came to Cordova to study. The constant pressure of the Christians of the Asturias and the defection of Arab governors, who founded several states (*viz.* Seville, Toledo, Saragossa, Granada, etc.), brought about the decay of the caliphate.

In the eighth century a Christian state with a capital, Oviedo, had developed in the Asturias, a part of Galicia, under Alfonso II. It was extended in the ninth century, and under Garcias (910) took the name of the kingdom of Leon, and after a time paid tribute to the caliphate.

In 933 Old Castile became a second independent Christian state, with a capital, Burgos. In the ninth century, in the Spanish March conquered by Charles the Great, arose other Christian states, among them the kingdom of Navarre, to which Sancho the Great (1003-35) at the beginning of the eleventh century joined Castile (the old principality of Burgos) through a marriage shortly after he had made the king of Leon his vassal. At his death this Christian state split up again among his sons. One son took Navarre (with Biscajare), which came to France by a marriage in the thirteenth century, but again became independent in the fourteenth; another Castile, to which Leon subsequently (1037) was joined by inheritance.

The Moors were driven out of Spain in 1257, except from the districts of Granada and Alicante, where they remained for several centuries longer under Castilian over-lordship, while Castile and Aragon fought each other. Castile saw its greatest expansion under Ferdinand the Holy, whose son Alfonso X, the Wise (1251-84) was again attacked by the Arabs.

Portugal was originally a Castilian principality, which Alfonso VI gave to his step-son the Burgundian Count Henry, for his help in the war against the Almoravides, as an hereditary fee. On the king's death in 1109 Henry regarded himself as independent, and his son Alfonso I got rid of the Castilian over-lordship, and raised Portugal to the rank of a kingdom. In 1147 he took Lisbon from the Moors. The state received its statutes in his time from the Cortes of Lamego in 1143. Under his uncle, Alfonso III, Portugal

conquered Algarbia, drove out the Moors in 1151, and attained its present extent.

Thus the Moors, chased from the Algarves by the Portuguese, from Valencia and the Balearic Is. by the Aragonese, from Marcia and Andalusia by the Castilians, only preserved a national existence in the little realm of Granada by the payment of tribute to the kings of Castile, and only owed their safety to the internal dissensions of the Christians. This internal strife went on until the union of Castile and Aragon by the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand II. In Aragon, to which Sataloni, Valencia, Sicily and Sardinia belonged, the old royal race had become extinct in 1412, and the Infant Ferdinand I of Castile was succeeded by his son Alfonso V, who conquered Naples and was succeeded by his brother John, whose son was the above-named Ferdinand II, the Catholic. To Castile also belonged the Canary Islands. The rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of their great minister Cardinal Ximenes, strengthened the crown at the expense of the clergy and nobility, and to this end Ferdinand had himself appointed by the pope grand master of the three Castilian knightly orders, and obtained the right of nominating to the Spanish bishoprics. He took away from the nobles the administration of justice, and in 1481 introduced the Inquisition. He also supported the towns and their association, the "Hermandad," against the nobles. The Inquisition was erected to deal with renegade Jews, Moors and heretics, but was used by Ferdinand against the nobles and clergy. The king alone appointed and removed inquisitors. Having settled the affairs of their dominions Ferdinand and Isabella turned their attention to the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, that of Granada.

After a war of ten years Granada fell before the Christian arms. The rule of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula had come to an end. The Moors at first allowed to remain in the country under restrictive conditions, were expelled in 1492. Eight hundred thousand of them, men, women and children, left the land of their birth. A similar fate was meted out to the Jews (in 1492), who were allowed no alternative but to leave the country or embrace Christianity. The expulsion of the rich Jews and the cultured Moors was a great loss to Spain, and detrimental to her industry and trade.

SCANDINAVIA

The Scandinavian Kingdoms in the Ninth to Thirteenth Century.—The Northmen were already in Scandinavia in the ninth century.

Harold Fairhair (930) established a kingdom in Norway, and this caused many of his piratical followers to leave the country. Among

these was Rollo, or Rolf, who made himself duke of Normandy, under the title of Robert I. Hakon the Good was Norway's first Christian king, his country remaining heathen ; but Christianity was gradually introduced under Olaf II. The archbishopric of Drontheim was founded in 1151. Denmark's first king was Goru the Old. His successor, Harold Blue-Tooth, was forced to become Christian by the Emperor Otto I. Christianity had been preached in Denmark and Sweden shortly before by Ansgar, the apostle of the North, a French monk, and first bishop of Hamburg. Harold's son, Sweyn, shared Norway with Olaf, king of Sweden, in 1000 A.D. and conquered England. Sweyn's son, Canute the Great (1016-35), lord of England and Denmark, conquered Norway, erected churches and bishoprics in Denmark, and won Schleswig from the Emperor Conrad II.

After the death of his two sons, England fell once more under Anglo-Saxon rulers. Norway became free, and Denmark again belonged to Norway ; until Canute's step-son, Sweyn Estritson, set himself up as king and established the Estritides dynasty (1047-1375). In Sweden the above-mentioned King Olaf had introduced Christianity in 1000. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the Scandinavian kingdoms were torn by wars and factions, and when a strong king established order, it was only for a short period.

Denmark took the lead during this period. Waldemar I, the Great, established order, made laws, fought the Wends in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, conquered Rugen, and introduced Christianity there. His son Canute IV conquered Holstein, and Waldemar I (1202-41) received, as king of the Wends, the homage of Mecklenburg, Pomerania and Rugen.

The Danish kingdom, after having in the first half of the thirteenth century obtained the first place among the three Scandinavian kingdoms under Waldemar II, lost its power under the seven succeeding rulers (of whom Waldemar III was one) through broils in which the districts of Schonen and Blekingen and part of Holland fell into the hands of Sweden. Waldemar IV (1340-75) ended the disorder and recovered these provinces from Sweden. His daughter, Queen Margaret, wife of Hakon VIII of Norway, called the Semiramis of the North, succeeded him. After the death of her husband in 1380 she enforced her claim to Sweden against King Albrecht, by a victory at Falköping (1389), in which Albrecht was captured, and named her sister's grandchild, Eric of Pomerania, her successor in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. She succeeded in obliging the chief clergy and laity of the three kingdoms to form the "Union of Colmar." The three realms were united, but each kept its own constitution and laws. Eric (1412-39) raised such indignation in Sweden by his

taxation that he was deposed, and after him his nephew, the Pfalzgraf Christoph, duke of Bavaria, was elected in 1440, and on his death in 1448 Christian I, count of Oldenburg. Under this king the union, destroyed by Sweden's desertion, was in 1472 again established, although Sweden kept its own separate chief minister, Sten Sture, whom it had appointed in 1448. He was the founder of the University of Upsala. After the death of four ministers of the family of Sten Sture, Sweden again came, in 1520, under Danish rule. In all three kingdoms the nobles and clergy were more powerful than the crown. The burghers in Sweden and Denmark, and the peasantry in Norway enjoyed the fullest privileges.

Poland and Hungary.—Of the Slav States established since the ninth century, Poland from its vicinity to Germany must be first considered. It was founded by the successors of Count Piast, who in 840 united the Slavs of this land. Miesislav I and his subjects accepted Christianity in 886 and acknowledged the over-lordship of the Emperor Otto I. His son Boleslav I extended his country on the east nearly to the Bug, on the west to Upper Silesia, in the north to the Baltic, in the south almost to the Donau, made it independent after a long war with the Emperor Henry II, was crowned king in 1025, and became thereby the true founder of Poland. Boleslav III, through dividing his kingdom between his four sons (1139), soon caused internal wars, in consequence of which Pomerania fell to the Danes and part of Denmark to Brandenburg. Towards the end of the eighteenth century rivalry for the throne led to strife between the towns, and the country was split up into many warring states. Silesia won in 1159 its independence from Poland. Its rulers introduced German customs and law, although from 1285 to 1327 they recognized the over-lordship of Bohemia.

The Dynasty of Jagello.—In the second half of the thirteenth century the internal strife in Poland ceased, owing to the union of such principalities as Great Poland, with the lands on the Vistula as Little Poland, by Wladislav IV in 1309. Wladislav was crowned at Cracow. His son, Casimir III the Great, added Galicia and Lodomeria to his kingdom and established the University of Cracow. He protected the peasants against the great nobles, but arrested the development of the burgher class in encouraging the lower nobility and the Jews.

As the dynasty of Piasti came to an end in him, the Poles recognized his sister's son Ludwig the Great of Hungary as king, and on his death gave the throne to his daughter Hedwig, who married the Grand Duke Jagello of Lithuania. Through him the Jagello dynasty obtained the Polish throne in 1386, and Poland became an elective monarchy. Lithuania, now christianized, was

under the Polish king, but kept its own grand duke. Casimir IV ended the long war waged since 1283 by the Slavonic Prussian-German ruling Order,—which at the first Treaty of Thorn in 1411 had surrendered Samogitia to Poland,—by the second Treaty of Thorn in 1466, in which the Order gave up West Prussia and recognized the over-lordship of Poland over East Prussia.

During the strife of this king with his estates, the Polish Parliament was established. It was composed of representatives of the nobility, deputies named by the king from the clergy and the higher officials. Later the king became the slave of this Parliament. Under his fourth son, Sigismund I, who succeeded in 1506, Poland became the strongest State in Eastern Europe. The new duchy of Prussia, founded in 1525, had to recognize the over-lordship of Poland. Prussia as the territory of the German Order had meanwhile acquired importance through the conquest of Ermeland and Sameland, the building of the towns of Memel and Königsberg, and the removal of the seat of the Order to Marienburg (1309). The Order obtained by purchase Pomerania, Esthland, Denmark and Samogitia, and its rule extended over the whole Baltic coast from Danzig to Marwa; Prussia under its Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351–82) attained the summit of its power and prosperity. Only the wars with the Lithuanians and Poles stopped its development, and the Order gradually decayed.

In 1410 the Order lost its first strength through the defeat at Tannenberg by Jagello. It owed its salvation to the brave defence of Marienburg by Heinrich Reuss of Planen, and only through the cession of Samogitia did it obtain the favourable Treaty of Thorn (1411). Later the desire of the Order for more share in the government led to the formation of the Prussian Confederacy, which threw itself on the protection of the Poles.

Hungary.—Hungary was in 889 conquered by Magyars, a mixed race of Huns and Fins, under their leader Arpad. King Arnulf had invited their help against the Moors, and so opened the Carpathians to them. After conquering the Moors they made raids into Greece, Italy and Germany, until their Duke Geissa, in 973, became a Christian, and his son Stephen the Holy, who was crowned in 1000, erected monasteries and bishoprics and engaged his people in agriculture and handicrafts. Ladislaus the Holy added Croatia, and his nephew Kotonan Dalmatia, to their kingdom. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Hungary was torn by wars between the rivals for the crown, and between the towns and the nobles, and the clergy compelled King Andreas II in 1222 to give them the “Golden Privilege,” and grant them many liberties. Until 1301 Hungary remained an hereditary kingdom under the dynasty of

Arpad. After the extinction of this House the country became elective and came into the possession of a king of the Angevin House of Naples, Karl Robert, whose son Louis the Great (1342-82), brother of King Andrea of Naples, waged famous wars, and when he received the crown of Poland in 1370, greatly improved the condition of Hungary. He also conquered the Wallachians, Bulgarians and Dalmatians, and was the most powerful ruler in Europe. He established schools, improved the administration of justice, and protected burghers and peasants against the nobles. Through his daughter and successor, Maria, her husband the Emperor Sigismund obtained the throne of Hungary; Albrecht II, duke of Austria, who had married their daughter Elizabeth, succeeded Sigismund. After Albrecht's death Hungary came to the Polish king Wladislav. Under Sigismund was formed the National Presentation.

Wladislav and the greater part of his army fell before the Turks at Varna (1444), but the count of Siebenburgen, John Hunyady, saved the land from the invaders. After his death his son Matthias Corvinus was elected king of Hungary by his grateful countrymen (1458-90).

Matthias fought against the Turks, subdued the Moldavians and Wallachians, won Silesia and took many places in Austria. He attracted foreign scholars and artists to Hungary, erected the University of Ofen (Buda), and formed a standing army (the Black Legion). He died in 1590, leaving no lawful heir. Under his successors the greatness of Hungary passed away, and the Magnates seized the power. Under Louis II, whom the Turks defeated at Mohacs in 1526, the State was brought to dissolution. Henceforth Ferdinand of Austria ruled the western half, while the eastern half with Siebenburgen came under Turkish sway.

RUSSIA

Russia and the Mongols.—The Russian State was founded by the Northmen, and particularly by three brothers, called in by the Slav races dwelling by the Baltic in 862 to aid in their quarrels, and made their rulers. One of these, Rurik, who had his seat at Novgorod, became sole ruler on the death of his brothers. Under his son Igor (and his guardian Oleg) the Russians seized the town of Kiev, previously in the possession of other Northmen. Igor's widow Olga became a Christian in 955, and Igor's successors extended their rule. The Russians gradually adopted the manners and speech of their Slav subjects. Rurik's great-grandchild, Wladimir the Great, adopted in 988 the religion of the Greek Church, and ruled from the Dnieper to the Duna. At his death he divided his kingdom among

his sons, of whom Jaroslav in 1036 again possessed the whole. Subsequently the State was again divided into as many as fifty principalities that all warred on each other, and was moreover overrun by the Lithuanians, Poles and other neighbouring peoples. Kiev remained the most important town, but had little influence.

In the middle of the twelfth century, the count of Susdal, Georg Dolgorucki, conquered Kiev and made Moscow the Capital of the grand-duchy. At the division on his death Andreas founded the grand-duchy Wladimir. Novgorod had become a town of consequence as a free community (it belonged to the Hansa), and was quite independent of the duchies. In the wars with the Poles and Lithuanians, the Moscovite rulers lost Podolia, Kiev, Volhynia, Red and White Russia. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Mongols, under Jenghiz Khan, made most of the Russian states pay them tribute ; even Novgorod had to submit (1247), and only made itself free in 1271, while the other duchies for almost two and a half centuries were vassals of the Great Khan of the Golden Horde of Kaptshak. In the fifteenth century, however, the power of the Golden Horde was broken by Vassily III, and the prince of Moscow, Ivan Vassilevitsh, succeeded in making his principality free from the Mongol yoke. He then extended his dominion in all directions, and laid the foundation of the greatness and power of Russia.

Chapter XIII

MONGOLS AND TURKS

The Byzantine Empire—Michael III—Origin of the Turks and Empire—Janissaries—Murad I—The Battle of Nicopoli—Bajazet I—The Invasion of the Mongols—Tamerlane—Battle of Ancyra (Angora)—Mohammed II—The Capture of Constantinople.

The Byzantine Empire—The Turks in Europe.

SINCE the times of Constantine V, the Byzantine State had become ever weaker. After his mother, Irene, the establisher of the worship of images, who had deprived him of the throne and established herself upon it, came a series of emperors raised by the army and speedily cast down again. The State was, moreover, constantly attacked by the Bulgarians and Saracens. Only the strong position of Constantinople and the superiority of the Greeks in the art of war now protected the State. One of the better emperors of this period is Leo V, the Armenian (overthrown in 820); another Theophilus (829-42), whose wife, Theodora, after his death as guardian of her son Michael III, Porphyrogenetes, ended the strife about images which he had again forbidden, by sanctioning them. Her brother and co-regent, Bardas, drove away the Patriarch Ignatius and put Photius in his place, and so led to the later separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. After the death of Michael III, his murderer, Basilus I, commenced the Macedonian dynasty which, with short intervals, ruled from 876 to 1056.

The Turks in Europe—Origin of the Turkish Empire—The Janissaries.—The Ottoman Turks, originally from Turkestan, appear in history towards the end of the thirteenth century. Taking advantage of the anarchy that then desolated Western Asia, Othman founded, about 1299, an empire in Asia Minor that had Ancyra and Prusa (Bursa) for its early capitals, and took the titles of Sultan and Padishah, that is to say emperor. He made the Turks a people of fanatical Moslems. His successor Orkhan (1326-60) extended his dominion over all Asia Minor, planted the Crescent on the shores of the Archipelago, even opposite Constantinople, and gave the Turks regal institutions; he established the "Cadis" for the administration of

justice, founded at Prusa hospitals and schools, and created a permanent army. The regular infantry of the Janissaries organized by him was subsequently composed of eight regiments and 40,000 men recruited in Christian countries by taking children away from their parents; the Janissaries only knew two sentiments, a fanatical attachment to Islam and an absolute devotion to the sultan. They believed that, according to the promises of the Koran, death would assure to the brave all the joys of Paradise. Under warlike sultans they constituted a force much superior to the feudal armies; but under sultans enervated by the inertia of the harem, they became as redoubtable to their masters as were formerly the prætorian guards to the Roman emperors. The Turkish cavalry, inferior in discipline to the Janissaries, was famous for its dash. The army was further augmented by irregular troops, whose ravages spread terror; and the Turks had perfected their artillery.

The Turks in Europe (1356)—Battle of Nicopoli (1396).—The first conquest of the Turks in Europe was that of Gallipoli in 1356. Four years later they took Adrianople, the second town in Thrace. The Sultan Murad I (Amurath) (1360–89) transported the capital of his empire into the enemy's country. The Greek Empire was enfeebled by political revolutions and religious quarrels. It was reproached by the West with schism and heresies, and was held responsible for the failure of the Crusades. France and England were as usual at war. The Spaniards were engaged in their crusade against the Moors at home. Germany and Italy were a prey to anarchy. The feeble realms of Central Europe and the valley of the Danube, Bulgarians, Servians, Hungarians and Poles, were incapable of coping with the large, well-organized army of the Sultan. After the taking of Adrianople, the Greek Emperor John Paleologus, after vainly imploring help from Europe, became the vassal of Murad I and promised him tribute. Sigismund of Hungary led a veritable crusade against the Turks; the most brilliant chivalry of France marched with him, under Jean Sans-Peur and the Constable Philip, but at the battle of Nicopoli (1396) they were completely defeated by Bajazet I, who in the following year penetrated as far as the Isthmus of Corinth. The greater part of the southern provinces of the Balkans were devastated. Terror had seized the West and Christendom was in danger.

Invasion of the Mongols under Tamerlane—Battle of Ancyra (1402).—It was only the invasion of the Mongols which saved Constantinople for another half-a-century. For twenty years at the head of the nomad hordes of Central Asia, Tamerlane at the head of his Mongol hordes overran the whole of Upper Asia and even Eastern Europe. He ravaged Russia as far as Moscow and burnt Astrakhan and Azov; he then returned to Samarcand, now his capital, and marched

against the Turks. At Ancyra Bajazet's army, composed it is said of 400,000 men, was defeated by that of Tamerlane, said to have been 800,000 strong; 400,000 bodies remained on the field, and the Sultan was captured. Tamerlane died in 1405, marching against China, and his empire perished with him.

Mohammed II (1451-81)—Conquest of the Greek Provinces (1453)—Constantinople.—Turkish power commenced again under Amurath II. He failed in his attacks on Constantinople and Belgrade. Belgrade was defended by John Hunyady, "the white knight of Wallachia," but he occupied Thrace, Macedonia and Albania, and at the battle of Varna (1444) crushed the united forces of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. King Wladislaus and Cardinal Julian, who commanded the Christians, were slain. The Turks ruled from the Danube to the Archipelago, but John Hunyady kept them out of Hungary. He defended Belgrade against Amurath in 1483 and against Mohammed II (1456).

Capture of Constantinople (1453).—The Turks, however, were as it seemed resolute upon taking Constantinople, and the last days of the Byzantine Empire were approaching; Mohammed II, the son of Murad I, laid siege to the capital with a vast army.

Only a few thousand men gathered round the young Emperor Constantine XII when Mohammed II, with 300,000 men, a numerous fleet and formidable artillery, laid siege to Constantinople. Repulsed on two sides, by a bold manœuvre he got 80 galleys across the isthmus in one night, took the port, and on May 20, 1453, made his final assault. The Emperor, last of his race, was slain in a brave defence, and after a terrible pillage the Turks bore away 50,000 of the inhabitants, who were sold as slaves. Mohammed II re peopled the city with 10,000 Greek families from the already conquered provinces of the empire. He made it his new capital and its churches were turned into mosques, of which St. Sophia became one of the most venerated of Islam.

And thus almost one thousand years after the fall of Rome, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks. Christendom was full of dismay and consternation at the victory of the infidels, and Europe trembled before the new invaders. Only the warlike heroes of Hungary checked the advance of the Turks, until a century later their power gradually decayed.

PART IV

MODERN HISTORY

A.—FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Chapter I

THE ERA OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS

Invention of Printing—Invention of Gunpowder—Discovery of America—Mexico and Peru—Cortez—Pizarro.

THE period which separated the Middle Ages from modern times was characterized by inventions and discoveries, which have exercised a widespread influence upon the history of humanity. Chief among these were the invention of paper, of the printing press, of the compass, of gunpowder, and the discovery of new lands.

To Johann Gutenberg is ascribed the invention of printing. He was a native of Mayence and invented the wooden types for printing. These were afterwards replaced by metal ones by one of his former assistants, Peter Schöffer. Like many other inventors Gutenberg himself derived very little advantage from his invention. He died in poverty in 1465, but the art of printing spread all over Germany, and books, hitherto only in possession of the rich, became more accessible to the people. The first book printed with Gutenberg's type was a Latin Bible (in 1455). All the books printed up to 1500 are called incunabula.

The acquisition of the compass was very important for navigation. Ships in early times had never risked sailing into the open sea and usually kept near the coast. The magnetic needle was first made use of during the Crusades, but in the fourteenth century Flavio Gijjoia of Amalfi, in Southern Italy, completed the invention of the compass, which enabled sailors to undertake long voyages, and eventually led to the discovery of hitherto unknown lands.

Invention of Gunpowder.—The invention of gunpowder produced a great change in the art of war. The origin of this invention is not quite certain. Judging from various passages of his works Roger Bacon (thirteenth century) seems to have possessed the secret of making gunpowder. The invention, however, is attributed to a German monk named Berthold Schwarz, who lived in the fourteenth century. Gunpowder and artillery produced a revolution in the state of affairs in Europe, and were not a little instrumental in abolishing the feudal system. The feudal lords gradually lost their power

and influence when their castles were hulled by cannon shots. In the battlefield the mounted knights and their followers were replaced by the artillery and soldiers on foot. Gunpowder thus assisted the European monarchs in breaking the power of the barons and other feudal lords, in establishing and encouraging urban communities and in developing the monarchic power. Whilst with the help of the compass the Europeans discovered America, it was by means of gunpowder that they conquered it.

The Discovery of America.—One of the chief causes which led to new discoveries and stimulated the zeal of various nations was the endeavour to find a new sea passage to the Indies. Rumours of the fabulous wealth of the East had for some time been current among the inhabitants of Europe. Arab merchants brought their goods from the Indies overland to the shores of the Mediterranean, and the Venetians and Genoese then carried them in their vessels to various European ports. The price of such goods was considerably increased by their transport overland, and the idea of finding a sea way to the Indies therefore occupied many sailors and merchants.

The Portuguese were the first who tried to carry out this idea. During the reign of King Emanuel the Great the bold navigator Vasco de Gama sailed round the South African coast and arrived at the port of Calicut. King Emanuel sent out a fleet to the East Indies and the Portuguese conquered the natives, and established European colonies on the shores of the isles of India. Portugal rose in consequence of this discovery to commercial importance and Lisbon became for some time the centre of the world's commercial activity. The success of Portugal stimulated the Spaniards, their neighbours, to similar enterprises, and inspired Columbus with the thought of discovering a western passage to the Indies. Christopher Columbus was a Genoese by birth and finished his education in the University of Pavia. His favourite studies were geography, geometry and astronomy. As a youth he had taken part in many sea expeditions and had visited all the seas known in those days. Having conceived the idea of finding a passage to the Indies by way of the west he addressed himself at first to his native city, Genoa, explained his project, and begged for support. He was called a dreamer and was refused. He then turned to Spain, which was ruled at that time by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. Ferdinand was busy at that moment with the conquest of Granada and had no time for Columbus. But at last Granada fell into his hands and Columbus' friends succeeded in persuading Isabella to lend her support to the young navigator. Columbus was nominated viceroy or governor of all the lands and islands that he should discover, and was promised a tenth of all the revenues.

A great concourse of people witnessed his departure from the

harbour of Palos in Andalusia, with a fleet consisting of three small vessels and 120 sailors. This happened on August 3, 1492. After a dangerous voyage which lasted six weeks, and during which his crew threatened him with death if he did not return, the cry of "land" was suddenly raised and Columbus discovered an island inhabited by copper-coloured natives. The natives called the island Ojuahamani; but Columbus named it St. Salvador. He took possession of it in the name of the king and queen of Spain. The natives proved peaceful, kind-hearted savages. They exchanged their goods for toys and spangles, but when they noticed the greed of their visitors after gold, they pointed southwards, shouting "Hayti." Columbus thus discovered two other islands, Cuba and Hayti (Hispaniola and St. Domingo), which he erroneously took for the mainland, wherefore they were called West Indies. He established a colony and returned to Spain with his startling intelligence. The news quickly spread over Europe and many were ready to accompany Columbus to the new world. He undertook three more voyages, discovered several other islands and the north-east coast of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco. Ingratitude, however, was the reward of his labours. Complaints were made against him at the Spanish court, and an official sent by King Ferdinand to investigate the matter led the discoverer in fetters back to Spain. He was deprived of his dignity and offices and died soon afterwards in Valladolid (1506). His contemporaries even denied him the honour of naming the new world after him. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator, revisited the West Indies and described his voyage, and it was after him that the new world bore the name of America.

The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico and Peru.—Spain continued to send forth ships and soldiers to discover and conquer new lands, and many, fired by the example of Columbus, went out to seek fortune in the new world. They learned from the natives the existence of two large kingdoms, Mexico and Peru, the discovery and conquest of which are the most remarkable events in the history of these adventurous times.

The viceroy of Cuba, Velasquez, sent out a fleet under the command of Ferdinando Cortez. The Spaniards, 500 in number, found not savage tribes, but a civilized country governed by a mighty king. The capital, Mexico, was conquered and the king, Montezuma, taken prisoner. Charles V (Charles I of Spain) appointed Cortez viceroy of the newly conquered land, which received the name of New Spain. Cortez, however, shared the fate of Columbus. He was recalled, returned to Spain, where he died in obscurity and poverty (in 1547).

Whilst Mexico was being conquered by Cortez, the Portuguese Magello accomplished the first sea journey round the world (1519).

The conquest of Peru was accomplished by Pizarro. He was a

man of great courage, but of low birth, uneducated, cruel and coarse. Together with another adventurer, Almagro, he went out to take possession of the rich land of Peru. The Peruvians were a civilized people ruled by the royal race of the Incas. Unfortunately for the Peruvians a contest between two brothers of the royal house was just then being carried on for the throne. By treachery and false promises Pizarro managed to secure the person of the king, whom he put to death. The land was conquered and Pizarro established the new capital at Lima. Almagro had in the meantime discovered Chili; but the discoverers soon quarrelled among themselves, which ended in the execution of Almagro, whose death, however, was avenged later by his son on Pizarro. Spain had thus taken the lead in the discovery of a new world, but she was soon followed by other countries who were anxious to become possessed of land in the West and to establish colonies. Portugal seized a vast extent of country known by the name of Brazil. England discovered the shores of North America and established her colonies. France followed in her wake. The native tribes were either subdued or wandered out farther westwards into their primæval forests and prairies. Those who remained met with cruel treatment at the hands of the European colonists, who reduced them to slaves, forcing them to work on sugar plantations or in mines. In vain did many missionaries endeavour to ameliorate the lot of the poor victims. One of these missionaries, Las Casas, petitioned the government to free the copper-coloured race from slavery, as their delicate constitution made them unfit for hard work. The government replied that there would be no one left then to work on the plantations and in the mines. Las Casas therefore recommended the African negro, being of a more robust constitution, in the place of the Indians. This led to a slave trade which soon attained vast proportions. Great and far-reaching were the influences exercised by the discovery of a new world upon the old continent of Europe. Meantime trade was enormously increased. Venice, Genoa and the Hansa towns had to cede the first place to the Western powers, such as Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, who established vast fleets to protect their maritime commerce and their colonies. Colonial wares were brought to Europe, giving rise to new trades and producing alterations in the mode of living and the manners of the European world. The price of goods rose, in proportion as the large quantities of precious metal brought from the new world increased the quantity of money. The friendly relations between the various nations were strengthened, and thus facilitated the mutual exchange of inventions and acquisitions. It was also possible for Europe now to send the dregs of her inhabitants into new parts of the world.

Chapter II

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

Humanists—Erasmus—Reuchlin—Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum.

THE students of classic literature (*i. e.* Greek and Roman) were known by the name of *humanists*. They endeavoured to spread the knowledge of the old philosophers and to dispel prevailing ignorance, making attack especially on the Roman Catholic Church. But the old scholars or scholastics accused the humanists of teaching pernicious doctrines. In their turn the humanists called the former obscurantists, or men of darkness. The humanists gained increasing influence over the learned and especially over the younger generation. The most famous among the German humanists were Reuchlin, Ulrich von Hutten and Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Reuchlin was a profound scholar, learned not only in Latin and Greek but also in Hebrew. The Dominican monks in Cologne having asked the Emperor Maximilian to issue an edict that all Hebrew books should be burned, Reuchlin was commissioned to draw up the list of such books. Reuchlin, however, having proved that it would be a crime to burn any of these books, was accused of heresy. He composed a Hebrew grammar and attacked the ignorance and shortcomings of the Catholic clergy. Erasmus of Rotterdam, of whom it was said that he first bought Greek books and then clothes, was called the prince of the humanists, and wrote the *Praise of Folly*, in which the superstitions and ignorance of the monks and the Catholic clergy were held up to ridicule. Erasmus of Rotterdam, however, was of a scholarly and peaceful disposition; he did not wish for extreme reforms, but was anxious to see the Church herself making steps towards an amelioration of the existing state of affairs.

Ulrich von Hutten was a friend of Reuchlin and of Erasmus, and participated in the composition of a series of letters known as the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, in which the scholastics (schoolmen) and monks were satirized. If, however, most of the humanists were peaceful scholars, never dreaming of openly declaring war with the powerful pontiff of Rome, they nevertheless prepared the way, and the minds of their contemporaries, for reform, which took a

decisive and pronounced character with the appearance of Martin Luther. The abuses of the papal power and of the Roman clergy had already long ago produced a feeling of discontent and indignation among the more enlightened and honest thinking men. A cry was raised by them from time to time, but such men were declared heretics and perished at the stake. Among such victims were Johann Hus, Savonarola, etc. But the spread of knowledge and enlightenment gradually shook the belief in the infallibility of the pope. The nations were sighing under the heavy burden laid upon them by taxes for the support of monasteries, churches and clergy, the knights and the barons were jealous of the riches and luxurious life led by the princes of the Church, whilst the reigning princes were very anxious to find an opportunity to shake off the yoke of the Church, which interfered with the temporal government. The immediate cause of the Reformation was the abuse of the sale of indulgences. To obtain pardon for their sins Christians were in the habit of adding to their repentance by contributing a certain sum to some church or church institution. These gifts took the place of penance and the remission of sins was granted in writing, such a letter being known under the name of an indulgence. It thus often occurred that the popes, being in want of money, raised enormous sums by granting indulgences to Christian believers. Pope Leo X made a traffic of it. Being greatly in want of money for his own private uses as well as for the construction of churches, he entrusted the archbishop of Mayence with the sale of indulgences in Germany. The archbishop commissioned the Dominican monk John Tetzel to hawk these holy wares. The latter travelled through Saxony with his two boxes, one containing letters of remission for all possible sins and the other the money given for his goods. And whilst many superstitious and believing Christians eagerly bought these precious documents, paying for them with their last ready money, the manner and behaviour of the Dominican monk filled the more intelligent and honest Christians with indignation. The princes, too, looked askance at Tetzel, who drained the country by collecting enormous sums. None, however, as yet dared to raise the cry of protest. This was done by Luther.

Chapter III

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION

Luther—Melanchthon—The Diet of Spires—The League of Smalkalde—The Peace of Augsburg—Calvinism—The Catholic Counter Reformation—The Jesuits—Ignatius Loyola—The Inquisition.

MARTIN LUTHER, the son of a peasant, was born on November 10, 1483, in Eisleben in Thuringia. He grew up in poverty and privations; his parents, however, managed to send him to school and then to the University at Erfurt, where he was expected to study law and become a jurisconsult. Young Martin, however, felt a strong inclination for a monastic life and for philosophic studies. Having passed his examinations and obtained his doctor's degree he joined the order of Augustine Friars, thus causing great distress to his father. It appeared that the death of one of his friends confirmed him in his intention of becoming a monk. The elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, having established just then a university in his capital of Wittenberg, offered Martin Luther a professorship. He was still an ardent Catholic and considered the pope as the vicegerent of Christ on earth; he had, however, to visit Rome on one occasion for his order, and was then struck by the corruption and fabulous luxuriousness of the papal court. The sight of the papacy of the Renaissance filled the soul of the German peasant with indignation. He returned home a changed man. The study of St. Augustine had further convinced him that salvation was to be found in faith alone. Tetzl had in the meantime appeared in Saxony on his hawking tour, and Luther denounced from the pulpit this shameful traffic of indulgences. He then published his Ninety-five Theses, in which he pointed out the harm done by such sales. The theses were affixed to the church door at Wittenberg (October 31, 1517), and the first blow was thus dealt to papacy. A fierce controversy ensued, and Luther began to question the authority of the pope. One of his opponents, Dr. Eck, at last persuaded Leo X, who had at first paid little attention to this quarrel, to issue a bull excommunicating Martin Luther and ordering all his writings to be burned. At the head of his followers, professors and students,

Luther burned the papal bull at Wittenberg. He thus solemnly separated himself from the Catholic Church (1520).

In the meantime Emperor Maximilian had died and his grandson Charles was elected to the Imperial throne as Charles V. Immediately upon his accession he convened a Diet at Worms (1521), where among other matters the case of Luther was discussed. The bold monk who had dared to declare war with the holy Father was invited to appear before the Diet. In spite of the advice of many friends Luther decided to go. The emperor also granted him a safe conduct, promising that he should come and go unmolested. Not far from Worms Luther received a warning from his friends telling him to return, but the Augustine friar disobeyed. "I would go there," he replied, "even if there were as many devils as there are tiles on the housetops." He went, and the son of the peasant appeared before the brilliant assembly of German princes. When he was asked to recant the opinions expressed in his works, he replied that he could only do so if it were proved from Scripture that he was wrong. He concluded with the exclamation: "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise; God help me. Amen." Charles V kept his word and no violence was attempted against Luther, but as soon as he had left Worms the ban was uttered against him and his writings were condemned to the flames. His master, however, the elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, was watching over the safety of the Reformer. By the orders of the prince, Luther was suddenly seized on his way back and carried off as a prisoner to the Castle of Wartburg. Here he lived for nearly a year and occupied his leisure in writing. Here he also began his famous translation of the Bible into German. Only his most intimate friends were aware of his whereabouts, and they in the meantime continued his work. Chief among them was Melanchthon, who, although much more learned than Luther, was penetrated with a deep respect for the latter, and zealously assisted him in the spread of the reform movement. Melanchthon himself was a man of a mild and gentle disposition; not so, however, many other of Luther's followers. Some went to extremes, destroyed images and holy garments and abolished the mass. Some fanatics preached against the baptism of infants and introduced the re-baptism of adults (anabaptism); these also believed in the immediate inspiration from God. Confusions, disorders and riots were the result, and the cause of the Reformation stood in danger. Luther heard of it, and feeling that his presence was necessary he immediately left the Wartburg and appeared in Wittenberg. Here he preached against the fanatics and for a peaceable development of the reform movement. He was greatly aided in his endeavours by Philip Melanchthon.

The Diet of Spires (1529).—The reform movement soon spread

beyond the borders of Saxony, indeed all over Germany. In the west the nobility rose against the ecclesiastical rulers *i. e.* the bishops and archbishops. Franz von Sickingen, a friend of Ulrich von Hutten, who had become an ardent follower of the Reformation, was the chief leader of the nobles. Sickingen was mortally wounded and von Hutten fled to Switzerland, where he soon afterwards died. The rising of the knights was soon followed by a peasants' war. The peasants were serfs, dependent in person and property upon the wills and whims of their masters. They were sighing for an amelioration of their sad lot, for freedom and independence. The cry of the Reformation had sent a thrill of joy through their hearts. The realization of human brotherhood had at last been awakened, they thought, and they rose to shake off their yoke and to break the chains of serfdom. Fanatics roused the simple-minded peasant by preaching the equality and brotherhood of man. Chief among them were Thomas Muenzer and Hans Mueller of Bulgenbach. The peasants formulated their demands in twelve articles, which included the liberty of hunting and fishing, the abolition of serfdom, etc. The insurrection spread from Swabia to Franconia, Alsatia and the lands of the Rhine. Everywhere the peasants destroyed castles and massacred the knights. The insurrection was at last quelled by the united forces of the princes. Thomas Muenzer perished on the scaffold. Luther himself had thundered against the "plundering and bloodthirsty peasants." Luther, who had at first exhorted the knights and the barons to be kind and indulgent towards the peasants, sided with the former during the insurrection. When the revolt had been quelled he again devoted his time to the establishment of the new Church. He abolished monasticism and celibacy and himself set the example by marrying a former nun, Catherine of Bora. He drew up the Lutheran catechism and laid the foundation of a confession of faith. The Reformation, thanks to the energy of Luther and Melanchthon, made rapid progress in Germany. The Catholic princes endeavoured to put a stop to the movement, and the Emperor Charles V convened a new Diet at Spires in 1529. The Diet having passed a decree against the spread of the Reformation, the princes, who were followers of the new Church, drew up a solemn protest, and henceforth the appellation Protestants was applied to them. The next year Charles convened another Diet at Augsburg (1530). The protesting princes presented their confession, which had been drawn up by Melanchthon. In this confession of faith they endeavoured to prove that their aim was not to establish a new Church, but to purify and restore the old one. But the Emperor Charles V sided with the Catholic princes, and decided to enforce his Edict of Worms against Luther and suppress all innovations. The

Protestant princes then formed a defensive League, which was called, after the place of the meeting, the League of Smalkalde (1530). A religious war was imminent, when Charles was suddenly compelled to leave Germany owing to the invasion of his country by the Turks and the outbreak of a fresh war with the king of France. When he returned to Germany he became convinced that no Diets would settle the divisions of the Church. He still entertained some hopes that the Council which Pope Paul had summoned at Trent would restore order and bring about a reconciliation. This, however, proved a failure, and there seemed only one way to settle the discussions, that of the sword. Just before the war broke out, however, Luther died (1546). The Protestant princes were defeated. Maurice of Saxony, a relative of the elector, betrayed his party and went over to the emperor. In the battle of Muhlberg (1547) the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hessen were made prisoners, and Maurice of Saxony was rewarded with the electorate of Saxony. Charles V imposed upon both parties, Catholics and Protestants, the so called *Interim*, by which he granted some concessions to the followers of the new Church. He satisfied neither party, however, and the war soon broke out afresh. Maurice of Saxony, whose ambition had now been satisfied, went back to his fellow-Protestants and turned against the emperor. He allied himself with King Henry II of France and attacked the emperor at Innsbruck. Charles was in a critical position. He escaped captivity by fleeing across the Alps, and was forced to conclude a preliminary peace at Passau (1552) with Maurice of Saxony. This treaty was soon ratified by the final Peace of Augsburg (1555).

Charles's Abdication (1556).—This peace guaranteed the Protestant princes full liberty of religion and conscience, as well as of political rights. The Peace of Augsburg, however, only granted religious liberty to the ruling princes and not to their subjects. The latter were obliged to practise the religion of their sovereign (*Cujus regis, ejus religio*). As far as the bishops were concerned, it was decided in an article, known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation, that a bishop had a right to embrace the faith of the new Church, but that he should be thereupon compelled to abandon his place and lose his office. This led again to many "bloody contests." The emperor's attempts to crush the new heresy had thus failed. His spirit was broken, his body was suffering from gout, and he decided to retire from the world and end his life in the solitude of a monastery. In 1556 Charles V abdicated and retired to the monastery of San Yuste in Spain, where he died in 1558. The Hapsburg possessions were now divided. The Hapsburg House was divided into two branches, the Spanish and the

Austrian, until the extinction of the former line in 1700. The German emperors were elected from the Austrian line.

Calvinism.—Whilst Luther was thus establishing a new Church in Germany, Ulrich Zwingli in Switzerland gathered round him a powerful party of reformers. He, too, protested vehemently against the teaching of the Catholic Church, but differed in many points from the teachings of Luther.

Much more important, however, was the influence of another Swiss reformer named Calvin, whose power was felt even more than that of Luther. Calvin was a Frenchman by birth, and was obliged to flee from France on account of the Catholic persecution. He went to Germany and Switzerland, and in the course of his journey came to Geneva. He was asked by the community to remain in the town, and he acceded to their request. Gradually he acquired a preponderating influence not only in the religious but also in the temporal government of the city, which he made famous as the seat and centre of his doctrine. Calvin became a kind of Protestant pope and ruled supreme until his death (1564). The leading points of his theology were the supremacy of God's will, and salvation by grace. From Switzerland Calvinism rapidly spread over France, where his followers were called Huguenots, the Netherlands, England (the Puritans), Scotland (the Covenanters), and Western Germany. The reform movement thus split into various parties often hostile to one another.

The Catholic Counter Reformation—The Jesuits—Ignatius Loyola.—The progress of the Reformation was rapid and unexpected. But papacy gradually gathered its strength and stood up to fight the new religion. A Catholic revival was the result, and the Church strove not only to crush its opponents but to raise and increase its own prestige and influence. The two chief instruments by the aid of which the Catholic Church sought to increase and confirm her power, were the order of the Jesuits and the Inquisition.

The order of the Jesuits, destined to become the most dangerous enemy of the Reformation, arose in Spain, the country most faithful to Catholicism. Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, belonged to a noble Spanish family and had at first devoted himself to military service. When Pamplona was taken by the French Loyola distinguished himself by his courage, but he was severely wounded. During his convalescence he read the *Lives of the Saints*, which so fired his imagination that he decided to found a society whose zeal should counteract the energy and activity of the Protestants. He fashioned his Society after the army, its basis being discipline and obedience to the pope. The chief or general of the order of Jesuits had his seat in Rome, and its members were carefully chosen. The order carried

on missionary work in all parts of the world, but also devoted its activity to politics and to the education of the young in Europe. In the course of time the Jesuits gained an unrivalled influence over religious and political affairs throughout Europe. The Inquisition, or Ecclesiastical Court, which had been established for the purpose of finding out and punishing heretics and had already been in existence in the Middle Ages, came now into full play. This tribunal, the "Holy Office" as it was called, became a barbarous instrument of persecution and savage cruelty in the hands of the Church. Thousands and thousands were denounced to the Holy Office, and on a charge of heresy were put to the torture and burned at the stake. Their property was confiscated for the benefit of the Church. It was especially in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands that the people suffered from this curse of repression.

Chapter IV

THE ASCENDENCY OF SPAIN

Philip II—Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis—The Revolt of the Netherlands—Iconoclasm—The Duke of Alba—William of Orange—The Pacification of Ghent—The Union of Utrecht—The Invincible Armada—The Recognition of the Dutch Republic.

THE most zealous champion of Catholicism was Philip II of Spain (1536–1598). On his accession to the Spanish throne he became the most powerful monarch of Europe. He had inherited from his father Charles, besides Spain, the Netherlands, Naples, Milan, Sicily and the vast possessions in the new world with their rich gold and silver mines. Spain possessed a first-rate fleet, and a powerful army commanded by experienced and noted generals. Spain was in the zenith of her power when Philip ascended the throne, but he gradually brought the country to ruin during his forty years' reign. This prince had two aims, towards the attainment of which he directed all his efforts; they were, the extirpation of heresy and the triumph of Catholicism in all his dominions, and the establishment of his autocratic rule in all the provinces and countries under his sway.

He began his reign with a war against France and her king Henry II for the frontier of the Netherlands. Spain was successful, and France was forced to agree to the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), by which Spain remained in possession of Milan and Naples.

In order to crush all heresy in Spain Philip strengthened the work of the Inquisition, increased the number of spies, and introduced terrible tortures and autos-da-fé. "I shall myself," he is supposed to have said, "bring the wood for the auto-da-fé to burn my own son, if he proves to be a heretic." Thanks to such measures all traces of heresy and Protestantism soon disappeared from Spain. His son, Don Carlos, the heir-apparent, an impressionable, impulsive and noble-minded youth, was accused of treason and heresy, taken prisoner by the Holy Office, and died in confinement (1568).

On the Mediterranean Spain was engaged in a war with the Turks and Mohammedan pirates. The sultan, Salim II, sent out a

mighty Turkish fleet to take possession of the island of Cyprus. Philip concluded an alliance with Venetia and the pope against the Turks. In the Gulf of Lepanto Don John of Austria won a brilliant naval victory over the Turks. This victory weakened the power of the Turks in the Mediterranean but practically had no further consequences, as the suspicious Philip would not allow his half-brother Don John to continue the fight, and the Holy League was dissolved.

About the same time the last king of Portugal fell in a war with Morocco, and the line of Emanuel the Great became extinct. Philip, as a grandson of Emanuel the Great on the mother's side, sent his armies to Portugal and took possession of the vacated throne. Portugal remained dependent upon Spain until, forty years after Philip's death, it rose under the House of Braganza and won back her freedom.

The Revolt of the Netherlands.—The Netherlands comprise the low countries situated on the banks of the river Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt, and being situated below the level of the sea this strip of land was exposed to frequent inundations by the ocean. The inhabitants of these marshy regions endeavoured to protect themselves by dykes and a canal system which subsequently became an important means of communication. The constant struggle against the hardships of nature developed and fostered the energy of the Netherlands and prepared them for hard and persistent work. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Netherlands represented the richest country in Europe, and its flourishing towns and cities were the centre of commercial activity. The Netherlands were governed by Stadtholders and formed part of Charles's hereditary possessions. In spite of the efforts and edicts and severe punishments, Protestantism had penetrated into the Netherlands and there took a firm footing. The zealous Catholic, Philip II, who had inherited these lands from his father, decided to extirpate heresy from his hereditary possessions by strict and energetic measures. He appointed his half-sister, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, as governor of the Netherlands, and sent Spanish garrisons to occupy the cities of the Netherlands contrary to all existing privileges of the country. The Protestants were subjected to a cruel persecution, were imprisoned, tortured, and burned at autos-da-fé. But instead of extirpating the new faith these persecutions produced quite a contrary effect upon the suffering nation. It made the inhabitants cling the more to Protestantism and hate Catholicism, in whose name all the atrocities were being perpetrated. The members of the nobility of the Netherlands were mostly Catholics, but when the Inquisition was introduced in the country they rose in indignation and formed a league for the purpose of resisting the Inquisition. A deputation approached the governor, the Duchess of

Parma, asking for a redress of their grievances. On the arrival of the deputations the governor (regent) grew embarrassed, and one of her councillors is supposed to have whispered to her, "Madam, are you afraid of these beggars?" These words were reported to the nobles and they adopted the word beggars (*gueux*) as a party designation, proudly inscribing it on their banners. At the head of the nobles stood William, Prince of Orange, called the Silent, and Count Egmont. Instead of abolishing the Inquisition the Regent met the demands of the nobles by substituting hanging for burning in the case of condemnation. The indignation of the Dutch knew no bounds. Riot and violence were the result. They gathered in mobs, attacked and sacked the churches, and demolished all the holy images they could lay hands upon (1566).

The Iconoclasts (1566)—The Duke of Alva.—This iconoclasm enraged Philip, and he decided to increase the persecutions. Recalling his half-sister he sent out his general, the duke of Alva, noted for his courage, bravery, and excessive cruelty, as Regent of the Netherlands, with the express command to crush and extirpate heresy in the Netherlands. William of Orange, foreseeing the danger, fled the country, and his example was followed by many nobles. The Counts Egmont and Horn were imprisoned and executed. The fires of persecution were alight in all parts of the country and thousands perished for their religious convictions. Many fled the country, and gathering an army, headed by Prince William of Orange, marched against the duke of Alva and now openly made war upon Spain. Some of the Dutch fugitives directed their course towards England, where under the name of "Beggars of the Sea" they gathered a small fleet and attacked Spain by water. The struggle lasted for more than thirty years. Alva was recalled (in 1573), and the son of Margaret, Alexander of Parma, took his place. The provinces had been separately resisting Spain until William of Orange formed a league in which seventeen provinces joined to drive the Spaniards out of the country.

This league is known as the Pacification of Ghent (1576).

The Union of Utrecht (1579).—But Alexander of Parma now succeeded in creating hostility and discord among the provinces. A separation took place. The ten southern provinces or the Belgian states were more inclined to be faithful to Catholicism, and remained under the dominion of Spain, whilst the seven northern provinces formed into a confederation as the Utrecht Union (1579), the foundation of the Dutch Republic. William of Orange was the soul of the union and its powerful leader. The revengeful Philip decided to get rid of him by assassination. The prince was declared an outlaw and an enormous price put on his head. And as there are

always men ready to earn an honest penny by the sweat of their brow and the blood of their sword, William of Orange soon met his doom. He was shot dead by an assassin on July 10, 1584. The murderer, Balthasar Gérard, was seized and executed, but the Jesuits canonized him and Philip raised his heirs to the rank of the Spanish nobility. The struggle, however, continued even after the death of the prince. Prince Maurice, son of Prince William, was appointed Stadtholder in succession to his father. England now sent substantial aid to the Dutch patriots.

The Invincible Armada.—To punish Elizabeth for rendering assistance to the Dutch Republic, and to crush Protestantism not only in the Netherlands and in England but in Europe, Philip sent out a vast fleet, which he beforehand named the invincible Armada (1588). But everything was against Spain. The clumsy, big Spanish ships looking like immense castles could scarcely manœuvre in the Channel, and the light-built Dutch and English vessels had a decided advantage over them. The English admirals Drake and Howard, the English and Dutch sailors, proved more capable than the Spanish naval crew. To crown all, terrible tempests destroyed the remaining Spanish ships which had escaped the enemy. With barely a third of the ships which had proudly sailed from the Spanish harbours, after having been blessed by Pope Sixtus V, did the Spanish admiral Duke Medina Sidonia return to his native shores. It was a terrible blow to Spain, but Philip remained outwardly calm, and his royal dignity was unruffled. He received the defeated admiral with the words: "I sent you to fight the English, but not tempests and elements; the will of God be done."

The Recognition of the Dutch Republic (1648).—The struggle of the Dutch Republic against Spain still continued even after the death of Philip II, till a truce was arranged by which the independence and religious freedom of the Republic was recognized. It was, however, only by the Peace of Westphalia (1648) that the independence of the United States of Holland was formally recognized by Europe. The southern provinces (the Spanish Netherlands and Belgium) remained in the possession of Spain until the Peace of Utrecht, when they passed to Austria. In the meantime the trade and commerce of Holland, which came forth triumphantly from the struggle, rose to a hitherto unknown degree. Dutch ships were to be met on all seas, and Dutch colonies were established in America, Africa, and especially the East Indian Islands. Dutch merchants even penetrated into Japan, and entered into commercial relations with that country. In Holland itself, not only commerce but art and sciences flourished prosperously. The country did not escape, however, the internal discords and the consequences

of mischievous wars of religion, which arose from a theological difference with regard to the doctrine of predestination. The country was divided into two parties—the Gomarists, which counted among its adherents Maurice of Orange, and the Arminians, among whom were Hugo Grotius, the learned historian. The struggle ended with the victory of the former party and the condemnation of the Arminian doctrine at the Synod of Dortrecht. Oldenbarneveltdt, one of the leaders, was beheaded, and Hugo Grotius imprisoned.

In the meantime Spain, owing to the severe and imprudent government of Philip and the curse of the Inquisition, was brought to the verge of ruin. The expulsion of many useful citizens and merchants, the Jews and Moors, had dealt a death-blow to Spain's commerce, and the many disastrous wars had exhausted her resources. Philip II had inherited one of the richest and mightiest European kingdoms, but he left it a wreck to his heirs. His only great achievement was the annexation of Portugal. After the extinction of the reigning dynasty, Philip, as grandson of King Emanuel the Great, took possession of the crown of Portugal, and united the country to Spain. For sixty years (1580–1640) did Portugal remain under the pernicious domination of Spain, until the duke of Braganza brought the Portuguese crown into his own family.

Philip died of a terrible and painful disease in 1598, and the policy of his successors, Philip III (1598–1621) and Philip IV, hastened the downfall of Spain.

Chapter V

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Causes of the Reformation in England.

IT is well known," says Voltaire, "that England was separated from the papacy because Henry VIII was in love." It is right to add that the caprice of a despot was not the only cause of the religious revolution that removed England from the authority of the pope: the country had for a long time been prepared to receive the principles of the Reformation.

England had never submitted so completely as continental nations to the court of Rome: the clergy were more independent and the people more rebellious against the fiscal demands of the papacy. The rights of the Holy See, the levying of Peter's Pence, raised strong protests there in the time of the Saxon kings. At the end of the fourteenth century, the heresy of Wycliffe obtained numerous followers. When the crown, with the immense resources of which it disposed, resolutely took the side of the enemies of the papacy, it took almost all England with it. Henry VII (1485-1509), the first of the Tudors, died in 1509, leaving the throne to his son Henry, a headstrong Prince of eighteen years.

Schism of Henry VIII.—Henry VIII (1509-47) was at first a declared adversary of Luther's doctrines: he wrote a book to refute them, and, in recompense, received from the Pope Leo X the title of "Defender of the Faith." But in 1527, having conceived a violent passion for Anne Boleyn, he resolved to marry her. For eighteen years he had been married to Catherine of Aragon, and a daughter had been born of this marriage, but he still wished to annul it. Clement VII was then the prisoner of Charles V, and the emperor was the nephew of Catherine of Aragon. "Placed," as he said, "between the hammer and the anvil," the pope tried to gain time. But the passion of the king was irritated by these delays. Cardinal Wolsey had been charged with the drawing up of the case: Henry VIII disgraced him, and caused Parliament to vote measures for restraining the rights of the court of Rome in England (1531).

In the following year, without waiting for the pope, he made Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, pronounce his divorce, and married Anne Boleyn. The final rupture was still delayed by the mediation of Francis I, but in 1534 Clement VII excommunicated the king of England. Henry VIII replied by annulling the authority of the pope in his realm. He was proclaimed by his Parliament "Supreme head of the Church of England," with the right of taking tenths and of exercising rights hitherto reserved to the Holy See.

Religious Persecutions.—Henry pretended to remain a Catholic: he persecuted with equal rigour those who denied his spiritual authority, and those who attacked the dogmas and ceremonial of the Catholic Church. Parliament, always docile, voted everything he proposed: the oath of supremacy, the suppression of the monasteries, of which the revenue became the king's, the statute of the Six Articles, called by contemporaries the "Bloody Statute." Never was more odious religious persecution. Catholics were beheaded as traitors, Protestants burned as heretics: the Chancellor, Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher mounted the scaffold for refusing to recognize the king's supremacy, Doctor Lambert for sustaining against him certain doctrines touching the Eucharist.

The Marriages of Henry VIII.—Henry VIII was cruel also in his family relations. Of his six wives, two were repudiated, two perished on the scaffold. He was soon tired of Anne Boleyn, and she was beheaded for infidelity. The tyrant thought himself merciful to the wife he had loved in not having her burned, and the day after her death he celebrated his marriage with Jane Seymour, by whom he had a son who reigned after him as Edward VI.

Edward VI (1547-53)—Protestantism in England.—Henry VIII had opened, without wishing it, the door to the spirit of reform. Under his successor Protestantism was introduced into England and implanted there. The duke of Somerset, protector-regent during the minority of Edward VI, abolished the mass, the celibacy of the priesthood and the worship of images. The veneration of the Madonna and the keeping of Saints' Days were prohibited. The services of the Church were ordered to be said in the language of the people, and the English Book of Common Prayer was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer. Somerset fell from favour, and was replaced by Warwick, duke of Northumberland, but his work survived him. The new protector sought the support of the Protestants to exclude from the throne Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII and of Catherine of Aragon. In expectation of the approaching death of the young king, he dictated to him a will which excluded his sisters from the succession, and designated as his heir Jane Grey, great-granddaughter of Henry VII, and married to one of the sons of Northumberland.

Mary Tudor (1553–8).—The precautions of the protector were useless. On the death of her brother, Mary Tudor obtained the government. Northumberland perished on the scaffold, and Jane Grey, victim of another's ambition, expiated by her death a reign of ten days that she had not desired. The new Queen hastened to reconcile England with Rome, and brought to her task the passionate ardour of a daughter of Henry VIII. Cranmer, principal author of the schism, was burned alive; several bishops and more than 200 Protestants perished with him. The docility of Parliament seemed to permit everything; but these cruelties only increased fanaticism, and were revolting to national feeling. England, already profoundly Protestant, violently expressed its repugnance to the Catholic policy of "Bloody Mary," and reproached her with sacrificing national interests to the ambition of Philip II, whom she had married in 1554. Ill, deserted by the king of Spain, regretful at leaving the crown to a sister that she detested, Mary Tudor finished her life sadly. The loss of Calais was a great blow to her: in her last moments, so the tale goes, she murmured that if they opened her heart, they would find written there the name of "Calais."

Elizabeth (1558–1603) was daughter of Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn. On the death of Queen Mary, she left the prison for the throne, and took up power with the ease of a great administrator. "She wished the world to know," she said, "that there was in England a woman who acted like a man, and was not led by a Constable de Montmorency like the king of France, or by a bishop of Arras like the king of Spain." "She was as richly dowered in spirit as in body," says a Venetian ambassador; "her physiognomy pleased more by her expression than her beauty. She united a rare subtlety to a rare mastery over herself. Her character was haughty and imperious, qualities she took from her father." She had the talent so precious to a sovereign of surrounding herself with superior men, and making them carry out their designs. But her cleverest ministers, such as Robert Dudley, whom she made earl of Leicester, and William Cecil, whom she created Baron of Burleigh, were never anything but her instruments; she had favourites, but no master. "She always," says Miguel, "sought their counsels and reserved her decisions. Her will, solely directed by calculation and interest, was sometimes hesitating, sometimes bold, but always sovereign." Her reign of forty-five years was one of the longest in the history of England; by the success of her Protestant policy, the development of the navy and of public prosperity, and in literary achievement, it was one of the most glorious.

Organization of the Anglican Church.—The daughter of Anne Boleyn, whose legitimacy was denied by Catholics, had already made

her choice between Rome and the Reformation. Yet she was crowned by a Catholic bishop and notified the event to the pope. She waited to make her designs known until her power was confirmed and she had found out the favourable disposition of England. She soon put into force the statutes of Henry VIII against the papacy, and in 1559 Parliament passed the bill of the Thirty-nine Articles organizing the Anglican Church, and in 1662 the Act of Uniformity, which decreed severe penalties against any one who attacked the established order. From this time the Anglican Church had its constitution; Calvinist in dogma, Lutheran in organization. While it kept episcopacy and many Catholic ceremonies, it was entirely subordinated to the crown. Elizabeth delegated her ecclesiastical authority to a "High Court of Ecclesiastical Commission" which exercised an odious tyranny over consciences.

Mary Stuart—Presbyterianism in Scotland.—Scotland was then a prey to anarchy. The young queen, Mary Stuart, sent to France in the time of Henry II, had been brought up there and had married Francis II. In her name, the country was at first governed by the Earl of Arran, then by the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine; but neither of them could prevent John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, from making numerous converts, nor the aristocracy from forming leagues under pretext of defending liberty of conscience, nor the English from constantly extending their influence; still Mary of Lorraine acquired great power by the presence of a French garrison at Edinburgh. After her death, in 1560, the French, attacked at the same moment by the Scotch Protestants and by the English, were forced to depart. Thereupon the religious reformation was completed. Parliament adopted the "confession" of Knox, or "Presbyterianism," and charged the ministers of the new church to draw up "the book of discipline," organizing "the Christian government." The episcopal hierarchy was forbidden, together with all the Catholic ceremonies preserved by Anglicanism. The monasteries were destroyed and their revenues applied to the education of children and the relief of the poor. Far from placing, like the Anglican Church, religious supremacy in the crown, the Presbyterian Church placed it in the assembly of the faithful. This assembly alone had the right of nominating ministers.

Mary Stuart, widowed by the death of Francis II, returned to Scotland in 1561. She was then nineteen years old, beautiful, accomplished, witty; she had been the ornament of the politest and most elegant court in Europe, and she had its qualities and faults. "She had great wit, but was not capable of continuous cleverness. Familiar and impulsive, gracious and passionate, trusting implicitly people who pleased her, abandoning herself feverishly to the thoughts

that dominated her, she had all the charms of a woman, without possessing sufficiently the strong qualities necessary to a queen." Elizabeth never pardoned her the superiority of her charms and the hopes that the Catholics placed in the granddaughter of Henry VII.

Mary Stuart in Scotland.—The brilliant pupil of the Valois did not quit her adopted land without regret. Leaning on the poop of the vessel that bore her away, she murmured, "Adieu, France! Adieu, France!" Undoubtedly she foresaw the troubles that awaited her in Scotland. The Presbyterians, carried away by their zeal, showed sentiments of bitter intolerance. They did not permit the young queen to worship freely, and almost murdered her chaplain under her eyes. However, the conduct of Mary Stuart was not wanting at first in prudence or skill. Following the counsels of Murray, her natural brother, she forced herself to be friendly with Elizabeth. Pressed by her subjects to marry again, she asked the advice of the queen of England. But the daughter of Henry VIII was insensible to these advances. She put off her reply so long that Mary, losing patience, made her own choice; she married Henry Darnley, her cousin.

This union was not happy. The vices of Darnley, perhaps the incautious conduct of Mary and the intrigues of Murray, who had become the queen's enemy since her marriage and the ally of Elizabeth, troubled the royal family. Darnley, jealous of the favour she showed an Italian musician called Rizzio, killed him under the queen's eyes, and was himself assassinated. The public voice denounced Bothwell as the murderer. Mary Stuart, without any proper inquest, or regular trial, fearlessly declared Bothwell innocent, and three months afterwards married him (1567). In face of such indecent conduct, Scotland, stirred up by the furious preaching of Protestant ministers, could not believe Mary Stuart innocent, and took up arms. The unfortunate queen gathered together a small force, but was conquered and forced to abdicate in favour of her son, James VI, proclaimed king under the regency of Murray. However, she did not yet despair. Escaping from the Castle of Lochleven where she was kept prisoner, she again offered fight, but was again defeated. She then saw no other way of escaping from her enemies than flight into England (1568). She thought to find shelter there; she found a prison and a scaffold.

Captivity of Mary Stuart—Her death (1587).—The queen of England posed as arbitrator between Mary Stuart and her accusers. Against the laws of nations and the laws of hospitality, she imprisoned a sovereign who had come of her own will to England. A sort of tribunal was created that received the witness of Murray

and the other enemies of Mary, and examined the documents relative to the murder of Darnley. In vain the queen of Scotland asked to see the documentary evidence brought against her and protested against the partiality of the commission. At the end of five months the commission declared that it had found nothing that touched the honour of Murray, and nothing that proved the crime attributed to the queen. Elizabeth nevertheless kept her prisoner.

This odious abuse of force received its punishment. Elizabeth, after ten years' peaceable reign, was suddenly surrounded by plots. The Catholics were indignant at the treatment inflicted on the Queen of Scots; and the ambitious hoped to gain her hand if they succeeded in delivering her. In 1569 the Duke of Norfolk, one of the most eminent members of the English nobility, entered into a conspiracy in favour of Mary Stuart. He died on the scaffold. His example did not prevent the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland from raising the northern provinces in revolt. Conquered, they fled to Scotland. Then Elizabeth, frightened and embittered, gave up her policy of religious tolerance, and by her cruelty, showed herself the worthy daughter of Henry VIII. She ordered more than 800 executions; but her rigour did not prevent the Catholics from agitating, nor Philip II, the champion of Catholicism, from fomenting plots and openly preparing for the invasion of England. Mary Stuart as a prisoner was more dangerous than she had ever been upon the throne.

Protestant England, indignant and disturbed, demanded the death of the royal captive as the only means of discouraging her partisans. Already Parliament had asked that "the axe should be laid at the root of the evil." Elizabeth encouraged these sentiments, at the same time protesting "that she could not stifle a bird which to escape from the fowler had taken refuge in her breast." She sought to get rid of the prisoner without incurring the odium of an execution. She therefore let Parliament pass sentence of death not only on the plotters but on the persons interested in their success. Elizabeth's ministers secretly encouraged a last conspiracy, that of Babington, allowed the queen to receive letters from the conspirators and copied the replies. Then they arrested Babington and his accomplices, who died under torture, and brought Mary Stuart before a high court of justice. In vain the Queen of Scotland protested against the incompetence of the tribunal, and the iniquity of the procedure. She was condemned and courageously underwent her sentence at the Castle of Fotheringay (1587). This was the first time that a crowned head had fallen on the scaffold, but the example was not lost; sixty years later the second successor of Elizabeth underwent the fate of Mary Stuart. As for the Queen of England, she made

her conduct still more odious by hypocrisy ; she affected regret and deplored as an accident the death she had herself ordered.

The Invincible Armada (1588).—The violence of religious passions, the danger that England was in, troubled internally by plots and threatened by invasion from without, explain if they do not justify, the cruelty of Elizabeth. A war to the death began between Catholicism and the Reformation. Philip II was its soul, and everywhere, in the Low Countries as in France, he met Elizabeth in the front rank of her enemies. So war broke out soon between them, for a long time indirect, but always bitter. While Philip whetted the grudges of the English Catholics, Elizabeth sent help to the Protestants in France and to the rebels of the Low Countries, and let English pirates chase Spanish vessels all over the seas. In 1577 the celebrated Drake pillaged all the towns of Chili and the west coast of America. In 1585 Cavendish spoiled the Spanish settlements in Central America. Soon, under pretext of avenging the death of Mary Stuart, Philip made a gigantic effort to reach his redoubtable enemy in her island. The fleet that the Spaniards in their presumption already called the *Invincible Armada*, was the most formidable armament that the world had yet seen. It was composed of 135 large ships with 2,600 cannons, 8,000 marines, and 20,000 soldiers, and carried the flower of the Spanish nobility. The names of the Virgin and the saints, given to the ships and the presence of the vicar-general of the Inquisition and his cortège of monks, seemed to give the expedition the character of a crusade. An army of 30,000 men, gathered in the Low Countries under the Duke of Parma, was moreover prepared to execute the pope's bull of deposition against Elizabeth. England, menaced both in its religion and its liberty, united against the foe. Men were enrolled from eighteen to sixty years old. Five thousand sailors were levied and the inland towns offered money, and the seaports furnished vessels. Elizabeth herself rode to the camp at Tilbury, harangued the troops and swore to shed the last drop of her blood for God, her realm and people.

England was saved by the sea, and by the skill and courage of her navy. The *Invincible Armada*, buffeted about by a furious tempest off Cape Finistère, annoyed in the Channel by the fleet of Howard, the English admiral, was stopped before Calais by contrary winds. Attacked in this harbour by the English it was put into disorder by fire-ships, lost ten large vessels, and fled by way of the North Sea purposing to return to Spain by doubling the British Isles. But as far north as the Orkneys, a last tempest finished its destruction, and its vessels covered with its timber the coast of the Hebrides and Ireland. A few only regained the coasts of Spain.

Philip II received the news of the disaster with affected im-

passibility. "I sent you against the English," he said to the duke of Medina Sidonia, "not against the sea and the winds."

War continued. The English captured the Spanish-American convoys and galleons and even tried descents on Galicia and Portugal. These last expeditions met with little success, but the Earl of Essex pillaged Cadiz in 1596. The maritime greatness of the Spaniards was over and the sceptre of the sea passed to England.

Greatness of England under Elizabeth.—Elizabeth understood that the greatness of England depended on the development of the navy. When Drake returned, after having doubled Cape Horn and in two years gone round the world, she went on board his ship to dub him knight. By her order Hawkins went to organize the shipment of the negroes on the African coast; Frobisher and Davis went to seek the famous North-west passage; and Willoughby and Chancellor sought at the same time, at the north of the ancient continent, a more direct route to India and China. Chancellor opened up in 1569 relations between England and Russia. Finally Elizabeth charged Gilbert with the colonization of Newfoundland and Walter Raleigh with taking possession of the eastern coasts of North America. Raleigh gave to this country the name of Virginia in honour of her whom Shakespeare called "the beautiful vestal seated on the throne of the West." At her accession England had, it is said, forty ships, at her death 1,200.

Commerce began to flourish. The system of maritime insurance was inaugurated. The Royal Exchange was established in 1571 by Thomas Gresham, Elizabeth's banker. Finally, in 1600 was formed the India Company, very humble at its start, but destined to a brilliant future. English industry developed at the same time, thanks to the arrival of numerous Flemish workmen driven from their own country by religious persecution. Many established themselves in Lancashire and gave an impulse to the manufacture of tissues already flourishing there.

Height of the Royal Authority.—Like her predecessors, Elizabeth governed with almost absolute authority. She persecuted dissenters, either Catholic or "Puritan," who refused to recognize the established religion, took from the jury the cognizance of the most important causes and gave them to exceptional tribunals, such as the Court of High Ecclesiastical Commission, the Privy Council, and the Star Chamber. More than once the jury were censured and very heavily fined for having acquitted an enemy of the queen. As for the Parliament, it exercised in reality no control over the actions of the government. Elizabeth's economy gave her no need to ask for subsidies; her popularity made obedience easy. In 1582, the Commons, having taking the initiative in voting a day of fast and of

public prayer, were compelled to ask pardon for such boldness. A member could not protest against the policy of the government without exposing himself to being thrown into prison. In a letter addressed to the Parliament in 1584, the daughter of Henry VIII declared that "to find fault with the rule of the Church was an attack on the queen, since, God having constituted her supreme head of the Church, no heresy or schism could enter the realm save by her negligence."

Death of Elizabeth (1603).—Elizabeth ended her memorable reign in sorrow. The Earl of Essex, her brilliant and presumptuous favourite, having brought about his own disgrace, wished to force her to dismiss her ministers. On February 8, 1601, at the head of 300 adventurers, he marched about London, calling the people to liberty. This madness was his destruction. Abandoned by his supporters, he was arrested and condemned to death. Elizabeth was disposed to pardon him, if he had asked it, but he did not, and mounted the scaffold. The old queen never got over this tragedy and from that time her strength failed. She died at the age of seventy years in 1603, and with her ended the dynasty of the Tudors.

Literary Outburst under Elizabeth.—The reign of Elizabeth is one of the great epochs in the literary history of England. The queen, herself very well informed, loved and protected men of letters, and some of her courtiers are numbered among the greatest English writers. Such were the brilliant Sidney, the best-praised poet and the most accomplished knight of the court; Walter Raleigh, statesman and historian, poet and navigator; Dorset, author of *Gorboduc*, the first tragedy in verse played in London; Samuel Daniel, a historian of great merit; and Edmund Spenser, who in his vast poem, at once allegorical and romantic, *The Fairy Queen*, showed himself an ingenious imitator of Italian literature. But, among all their contemporaries, two writers above all attract the attention of posterity: Shakespeare and Bacon. Shakespeare, whom Chateaubriand calls "one of those mother-geniuses who seem to have brought forth and nourished all the rest," was the most profound observer and the most vigorous painter of human nature. Bacon was the author of the *Novum Organum*, in which he formulates his experimental method, instrument of so many important discoveries; moreover in his *Moral and Historical Essays* he showed the wisdom of a great politician and the profoundness of a great philosopher.

Chapter VI

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

The Huguenots—The Massacre of Vassy—The Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Henry III—Henry IV—Louis XIII—Louis XIV.

FRANCIS I had ascended the throne in the year 1515. He was the grandson of the comte d'Angoulême and as much renowned for his chivalry, bravery and love of art and science as for his excessive debaucheries and tyranny. His rival for European power was Charles V, and a strong jealousy existed between these two monarchs. The ambitious young king of France had scarcely ascended the throne when he invaded Italy and engaged in a long war with Spain. After a victory at Marignano he won the dukedom of Milan, but four wars were occasioned by this possession of Milan. Charles V undertook to drive Francis out of Milan. Charles was successful, the French lost Milan, and were forced to retreat over the Alps. During this retreat Bayard, the gallant knight without fear and without reproach, met his death. Francis I himself at the head of an army hurried into Italy. Before the walls of Pavia, however, the French were defeated in a bloody fight (1525), the king was compelled to surrender and was led a prisoner to Madrid, and after a year's captivity was forced to conclude the Peace of Madrid, in which he abandoned his claims upon Milan and surrendered the dukedom of Burgundy. Francis, however, on his return to his own kingdom concluded an alliance with the pope, who released him of his oath and incited him to deliver Italy from the Spanish yoke. A new war burst out. A German army crossed the Alps, was led to Rome, and on May 6, 1527, Spanish and German soldiers, most of whom were Lutherans, scaled the walls and sacked the Eternal City. Every possible outrage was committed by the infuriated bands. A peace was at last concluded, through the influence of the mother of Francis, at Cambray. Francis relinquished Milan but retained Burgundy.

Francis, however, could not so easily forget the dukedom of Milan, and in order to reconquer it, he concluded an alliance with the Turks. Christian Europe was indignant at an alliance of a Christian king with an infidel, and as the Ottoman troops were com-

mitting horrible devastations in Lower Italy, Pope Paul III brought about the ten years' truce at Nice between the two rival monarchs (1538). After Charles, however, had suffered considerable losses in an expedition against the corsairs of the Mediterranean, the king of France again broke faith, and, concluding an alliance with the sultan, commenced a fourth war against the emperor. Charles marched into Champagne and was within two days' march of the capital. Francis hastened to conclude a new peace at Crespy by virtue of which he recognized the supremacy of the Hapsburgs in Italy (1544).

The beginnings of the Reformation in France date from the reign of Francis. In the course of his wars with Charles, Francis had enrolled the help of the German Protestants, but in his own kingdom he was on the side of the clergy and severely persecuted the followers of the new doctrine as rebels. Quite independently of the Lutheran teaching the renaissance and the revival of learning had fostered a desire for reform in France. The king looked askance at the new spirit and the reform movements and undertook to suppress them. Francis, who after the battle of Pavia (1525) required the help of the pope, was now on the side of the clergy, and growing more and more intolerant, ordered the persecution and execution of heretics. Francis died three years after the Peace of Crespy, and his policy was continued by his son Henry II (1547-59). The number of Protestants, or Huguenots, as they were called in France, increased and the teaching of Calvin especially found many followers. It was especially among the nobility that the new doctrine gained disciples. The nobles could not easily forget their feudal independence, and looked with discontent upon the growth of the royal power supported by the Catholic clergy. Whilst many warlike nobles were ready to defend the new faith with the sword, the lower classes and some nobles still remained faithful to the old creed. A bitter struggle thus arose between Catholics and Protestants, which soon broke out after the death of Henry II during a tournament. The bigoted Henry was succeeded by his sixteen-year-old son, Francis II, feeble in mind and body. He was married to the famous queen of the Scots, Mary Stuart, and her two uncles, the Duke Francis of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, consequently occupied influential positions at court. The domination of the Guises was looked upon with jealousy by the mother of the king, the famous Catherine de Medici, and by the families of Bourbon and Condé. The Bourbons belonged to a collateral branch of the royal family of Valois, and the leaders were Anthony of Bourbon, who being married to Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, had become king of Navarre, and Louis, prince of Condé. Catherine de Medici was an extremely ambitious, highly intelligent,

and utterly unscrupulous woman, imbued with the principles of her countryman Machiavelli. She never hesitated to take recourse to extreme means when wishing to rid herself of her enemies. From Italy she had brought with her the knowledge of subtle poisons, and many of her enemies met with a violent death at her instigation. Anthony and the Prince Condé having embraced the reformed faith, Protestantism became at once the pretext of political intrigues and the cause of factions which soon led to religious wars. Among the most notable leaders of the Huguenots were Gaspard de Chatillon, admiral de Coligny, who had distinguished himself by his defence of St. Quentin in 1557, and who owing to his noble character and honest mind was greatly respected by all parties. The religious fanaticism, coupled with a desire for power which dominated the nobles and the powerful families, some of whom were related to the reigning house, could not but lead to a civil war.

Francis II died in 1560, his wife left France for Scotland, and the Guises saw their power at an end. Charles IX succeeded his brother; he was only ten years old, and his ambitious mother took the reins of the government in her hand during the minority of her son. Catherine de Medici's position was not an easy one. Guises and Bourbons were equally jealous of her. She therefore endeavoured to keep the balance equal between the two factions. Without depriving the Guises of their offices she flattered Anthony de Bourbon, Condé and Montmorency. The States General had been convened at Orleans and the chancellor, Michael de l'Hôpital, expounded before them the maxims of religious tolerance. In 1562 an edict was promulgated by which toleration and the free exercise of the reformed cult was granted to the Huguenots under certain conditions. All these attempts on the part of Catherine proved futile, Catholics and Protestants alike were too embittered to be accessible to a spirit of tolerance.

The Massacre of Vassy (1562).—The Duke Francis of Guise was passing through the country with a body of armed retainers, and at Vassy they came upon a number of Huguenots assembled for worship in a barn. The duke's suite ordered the reformers to disperse, and when the latter refused attacked them sword in hand, killing about fifty and wounding many more. The indignation of the Huguenots was great. Admiral Coligny and the Prince Condé placed themselves at the head of the reformers, and a bitter war ensued which was waged for eight years. At last Catherine de Medici concluded the treaty (St. Germain), by virtue of which the Protestants were granted freedom to exercise their religious cult. In order to strengthen the peace between the two parties Catherine also offered her daughter Marguerite de Valois, the sister of Charles IX, in marriage to Henry,

the young king of Navarre. This alliance caused great rejoicings among Protestants and Catholics. The Protestant leaders, Admiral Coligny, and Henry's mother, Jeanne d'Albret, were invited to the court and favours were heaped upon them. But before the festivities of the wedding were over an event happened which shocked the European world and roused a universal cry of horror.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.—August 24, 1572.—A number of Protestant nobles had come up to Paris to attend the wedding of Henry, and among them was the old Admiral Coligny. The latter by his straightforward and frank attitude soon gained a preponderating influence over the mind of King Charles. The queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, took umbrage and resolved to rid herself of the admiral. Coligny must die. An attempt to kill him failed and only excited the indignation of the Huguenots. Catherine now determined to exterminate all the Huguenots present in Paris. The plan was arranged and the plot for the massacre worked out. The decree was now laid before the king, but he at first refused his signature. Catherine, however, knew how to persuade her weak-minded son to consent to the massacre, and Charles at last gave his signature on condition that not one Huguenot should escape to reproach him afterwards with the deed. Shortly after midnight, on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, a signal was given, the massacre of the Huguenots began, and continued for three days and three nights. It is reported that King Charles himself fired from a window in the Louvre upon some Huguenots. Henry of Navarre saved his life by abjuring his faith, to which, however, he soon returned. Orders were also issued to massacre the Huguenots all over the country, and the number is estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000. Europe was indignant, and Catholics and Protestants alike were horrified at the bloody deed. The pope, however, ordered a Te Deum to be celebrated in the Church of St. Mark, whilst Philip of Spain did not conceal his joy on hearing the news. Many Huguenots, however, had escaped the massacre, and gathering in several fortified places near Rochelle took up arms in defence of their faith. Charles IX, tortured by an evil conscience, died two years after the St. Bartholomew night and was succeeded by his brother Henry III, who had some time previously been elected king of Poland.

Henry III (1574–89).—Henry, however, led a life of debauchery and forgot the kingdom in the whirl of his pleasures. The struggle between Catholics and Protestants continued, and in order to gain peace Henry granted the Huguenots equal civil rights with the Catholics. The latter, dissatisfied with such concession, formed the Holy League at the head of which stood the Duke de Guise. Jealous of de

Guise's growing influence, the king had him assassinated. Enraged at such a proceeding the nation rebelled against the king, and the pope excommunicated him. Henry saw no way of escape but by an alliance with Henry of Navarre. A civil war broke out. The two Henrys laid siege to Paris, when the knife of an assassin, the fanatical monk Jacques Clément, put an end to the life of Henry III.

With Henry's death the line of Valois-Orleans was extinct, and Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, came to the throne. For some time, however, Henry had to sustain a hard struggle. Although the Protestants had proclaimed him king of France, the Catholics refused to recognize him as such. For several years Henry tried to get possession of the throne of France by his sword. He fought the battle of Ivry, telling his soldiers to rally round the white plume of his hat, and laid siege to Paris. At last, however, he convinced himself that he could never gain possession of the crown by battles only. He decided upon his abjuration. "Paris," he said, "is well worth a mass." In the Cathedral of St. Denis he went over to the Catholic Church and Paris opened its gates. Henry could now devote his energy to foreign and domestic tranquillity. By the Edict of Nantes (1598) he granted to the Protestants full political rights and many privileges. The long-standing quarrels had thus come to a close, and France entered upon a period of tranquillity. Henry was assisted in his peaceful work by his minister Sully, who helped him in the government of the State. But Henry's toleration awakened fanaticism, and the king fell a victim to the knife of one of them, Ravaillac, in 1610. He was succeeded by his son, Louis XIII. The latter being only a child of nine, the government was entrusted to his mother, Mary de Medici. During her reign Italian favourites exercised a great influence upon State affairs, until at length Louis came of age and assumed the government. He banished his mother from court and removed the favourites. He was lucky in finding support in his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, one of the most prominent and remarkable men of the century. For eighteen years Richelieu ruled France and was practically sovereign. He endeavoured to make France a supreme power in Europe and to strengthen the royal power within. Richelieu definitely crushed the political power of the Huguenots and destroyed their place of refuge, La Rochelle. By the Edict of Nîmes, the cardinal granted the Huguenots liberty of conscience and equal rights with the Catholics. Several nobles who had planned the overthrow of the powerful minister were got rid of by banishment or execution. Among those who perished by the hand of the executioner were the duke of Montmorency and the count of Cinq Mars. Richelieu also

gave his support to the Protestant princes of Germany during the Thirty Years' War, as he thus hoped to weaken the power of the House of Hapsburg. He died in 1642 and was soon followed to the grave by Louis XIII.

Louis XIV succeeded to the French throne. During his minority the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, sister of the king of Spain, administered the government. She had chosen as her chief minister Mazarin, the disciple of Richelieu, who carried out the policy of his predecessor. Louis attained his majority and assumed the government, but Mazarin enjoyed the royal favour until his death in 1661. He died in a very propitious moment, for Louis was beginning to weary of him. Louis henceforth ruled France as an absolute monarch and acted upon his famous principle "*L'état, c'est moi*" (I am the State).

Chapter VII

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-48)

The Thirty Years' War—The Bohemian War—The War in Lower Saxony—Gustavus Adolphus—Tilly and Wallenstein—The Swedish, French and German Wars—The Conclusion of Peace.

THE hostile feeling between Protestants and Catholics became more pronounced under the feeble government of Rudolf II, the son of Maximilian II, who had been brought up at the Spanish court. The Protestants insisted on the ratification of the peace which was to settle the religious differences, but could only obtain this concession on condition of their giving up the estates which had been confiscated since the Treaty of Passau. The oppression of the Protestants in Styria, Carinthia and Cariola under the Archduke Ferdinand, and the proscription which followed on a tumult which arose during a Catholic procession in Donauwörth, brought matters to a climax, and the Protestants formed a union under the Elector Palatine Friedrich IV.

The Catholic States on their side entered in 1609 into a league under Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Both sides found an excuse for rushing to arms after the death of Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich, Cleves and Berg, without male issue, when a dispute arose as to the succession. In order to gain the help of the League and the Union respectively, one of the chief claimants, the palgrave of Neuburg, went over to the Catholics, and the other, the Elector Joh. Sigmund of Brandenburg, embraced the reformed faith. Finally recognizing the ruin that was being wrought in the country by the foreign soldiery, whose aid they had also sought, they came to a treaty in 1614, and in 1627 the lands of the deceased duke were divided between the two.

The Emperor Rudolf II was an alchemist and an antiquary, and a most inefficient ruler. He neglected to send help to Hungary when in the throes of a warfare with the Turks, and the country would have been lost to the Hapsburgs if his brother Matthias had not stepped in, and after establishing peace insisted on Rudolf ceding

Hungary, Moravia and Austria to him. Rudolf still clung to Bohemia, and to ensure his possession began to oppress the Protestants of that country, but upon their threatening to rise in arms he gave in and conceded their demands for religious freedom. Finally the Bohemians elected Matthias as their king, and matters with Rudolf reached such a pitch, that he was forced to call a Diet in order that his successor might be nominated. This brought him to such sorrow that he died, and Matthias was elected emperor. The latter being already in years and childless, was persuaded to nominate his cousin Ferdinand as his future successor. The Protestant states of Bohemia, remembering but too well the treatment dealt by Ferdinand to the Protestants of his hereditary estate, demurred at this choice, fearful of a like fate. Ferdinand's election, however, was carried, the chosen successor vowing not to interfere with the liberty of his Protestant subjects. Various events occurred at this time to stimulate the feud between the two sects, among them being the Jubilee of the Reformation 1617, and the admission of two men particularly hated by the Bohemians, into the government Council.

As a further aggravation to the Bohemians a new Protestant church was, by order of the emperor, pulled down and another closed, and embittered by a sharp reproof they received in answer to their remonstrances, some of the deputies of the states forced their way into the session-room at Prague and threw three Catholic members of the government out of window into a dry moat, twenty-eight feet deep; all three, however, escaped with their lives.

The Protestant states, anticipating what might be the result of this high-handed proceeding, seized the reins of government, drove out the Jesuits, and garrisoned some of their forts. And thus in the year 1618 began the Thirty Years' War. For Ferdinand, who had meanwhile been crowned king of Hungary, ordered two armies to march into Bohemia, while the originators of the agitation sought help from the Union. Since 1610 the Union had been under the leadership of the young Elector Palatine Frederick V, and among its members it now numbered the elector of Brandenburg and the prince of Anhalt, and many imperial cities had joined. They made private overtures to the ambitious Duke Charles Emanuel of Savoy, enticing him to join the Union with the hope of attaining to the imperial throne. External matters prevented him from falling in with their designs, but his money was of considerable assistance to the Union, for with it he enlisted some thousand mercenaries which he sent under the Count Ernst von Mansfeld to strengthen the Bohemian forces. Mansfeld took possession of Pilsen and obliged

the imperial court to enter into negotiations. Meanwhile the Emperor Matthias had died (May 20, 1619), and Ferdinand had immediately taken possession of his hereditary lands, which, however, openly refused him homage.

Ferdinand II was unanimously proclaimed emperor at Frankfurt, but the Bohemians declared that, as an enemy of the reformed faith, he had forfeited the crown of their country, which they offered to the Elector Palatine, who, urged by his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, and other counsellors, accepted it.

On November 29, 1619, he received the homage of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia; Sweden, Denmark, Holland and the Union also acknowledged him as king. While Frederick, who was still young, gradually alienated the affections of the Bohemians by his pleasure-loving and imprudent behaviour, and by gross errors in his dealings with both Lutherans and Catholics, Ferdinand on the contrary strengthened his position by securing the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, a zealous, astute and influential man, and renowned as a general, as the head of the League. He received material help also from outside, either in money or men; the pope and the Spaniards among others giving him support.

Duke Maximilian led his troops into Upper Austria, where he brought the Protestants into subjection, and marching on into Bohemia he overcame the badly generalled army of the Union near Prague on November 8, 1620, the defeat being so overwhelming that Frederick, although he might still have held Prague, and Mansfeld, who was still in possession of many fortified places, gave up all thought of further resistance, and both fled to Silesia, and finally took refuge in Holland. The Emperor now declared Frederick an outlaw and his electoral territories forfeited. He made further conquest of the Bohemian strongholds, subdued Moravia, and forced Bethleá Gabor, who was ruling in Hungary, to come to terms of peace and renounce all claim to the Hungarian crown.

Protestant preachers and teachers were driven out, and citizens and peasants forcibly brought back to Catholicism. Unwilling at first to inflict the penalty of death, Ferdinand was at last persuaded by his confessor, the Jesuit Lemmermann, to execute twenty-seven of Frederick's chief adherents, who all witnessed with courage to their faith at the last.

Prince Christian of Brunswick-Halberstadt and Count Ernst von Mansfeld now began a predatory war in Franconia and along the Rhine; the latter had at first to give way before Tilly, who advanced with the army of the League, but in 1622 he gained a victory over this general near Wiesloch, having previously laid Spires and Strasburg under contribution. Tilly, however, in the

same year, with the help of the Spaniards, defeated the enemy at Wimpfen and at Höchst on the Main, and dealt severely with the palatinate. Frederick V's cause was now completely lost, and Mansfeld and Prince Christian retired from Germany and took service in Holland. The emperor now conferred the electoral dignity of the palatinate on Maximilian of Bavaria for life, and Tilly was raised to be a count of the empire. He and the forces of the League were stationed on the borders of Lower Saxony.

The War in Lower Saxony.—Shortly after Mansfeld and Christian reappeared with freshly levied forces, and were joined by the dukes Wilhelm and Bernard of Weimar. Christian failed in his efforts to establish himself in North Saxony, and as he was contemplating a retreat, he was so severely beaten by Tilly at Stadtlohn in 1623, that he reached Holland with but few men, whither Mansfeld was forced to follow him.

But now France, taking alarm at the increasing power of Austria and Spain, formed a secret alliance with England, Holland and Denmark, and so encouraged the Protestants in Germany to make a fresh stand. On the other side the emperor, so as not to be entirely dependent on the League, raised an army of his own which he placed under the command of Albrecht von Wallenstein.

Richelieu, who had instigated the alliance, took occasion of the Huguenots again rising in France to withdraw from it before a single battle had been fought, and the unity of the Catholic powers being now restored fresh triumphs were secured for their side.

The war began with reprisals between Tilly and King Christian, who obliged the former to retire by way of Minden. Wallenstein now marched into Lower Saxony, but avoided joining forces with Tilly, which caused the war to drag on until Mansfeld, with Scotch and Dutch levies to support him, advanced from Lübeck and attacked him. Various mishaps brought about the defeat of Mansfeld, who finally unwillingly dismissed the remainder of his army; he was on the eve of seeking fresh help in England when he died from the fatigues he had undergone. Feeling his end approaching, he called for his arms, and supported by two of his adjutants, stood upright, waiting for death.

Meanwhile Prince Christian also, as the result of his wild and dissolute soldier's life, had died aged only twenty-seven, and King Christian having been defeated by Tilly at Lutter-am-Barenberge, 1626, the whole of North Saxony was now in the latter's hands.

Wallenstein, now returning from Hungary, overcame Silesia, and finally joining Tilly on the Elbe, drove out the two dukes of Mecklenburg, and occupied Holstein. Tilly, displeased at Wallenstein's domineering character, again separated from him and proceeded to

devastate Silesia and Jutland. Brandenburg and Pomerania also felt the weight of his merciless hand ; Wallenstein with ever-growing ambition allowed himself to be nominated duke of Mecklenburg, and longing for possession of the Baltic coast, laid siege to the Hanse town of Stralsund. In spite however, of much boastful language, the courage of the citizens aided by a small fleet, sent to their help by Gustavus Adolphus, obliged Wallenstein to abandon his enterprise, and as Sweden and Denmark were allied against him on the one hand, and on the other England, France and Holland were promising help to Denmark, he himself hastily concluded the Peace of Lübeck with Denmark, whereby Christian recovered his lost territories and was delivered from the unbridled depredations of Wallenstein's army.

In 1629, the Emperor issued his Restitution Edict, which obliged the Protestants to give up all the Church property which had become theirs since the Treaty of Passau. In order to enforce this command he kept his armies on a war footing, and Protestantism in Germany seemed indeed at this time to be completely suppressed.

Meanwhile Wallenstein's cruel oppression of the country, his presumption and extravagant style of living, aroused bitter complaints from high and low. His soldiers robbed the people of their last crusts of bread, so that we hear of them eating grass, and even human flesh, and the grievances of the people were echoed by the electors, who for reasons which touched them more closely, obliged the emperor to deprive him of his command of the army. The emperor at first refused to consent unless the princes would agree to the choice of his son Ferdinand as German king ; but as they were determined to humiliate the young upstart and to limit the power of the Emperor, they turned a deaf ear, and he had no choice but to give in to their demands, while Wallenstein in proud confidence declared that the time would soon come when his services would be again required.

The Swedish-German War (1630-35).—In order to appease the Protestants, the emperor had promised to come to a composition with them as regards the Restitution Edict, but as long as this was not wholly repealed and the League retained its power, as long as the emperor's religious zeal and the preponderating influence of the Catholics were still to be feared, the Protestants saw no way of delivering themselves from their down-trodden condition. But now an unexpected saviour arose from another quarter.

France and Pope Urban VIII had entered into a close alliance, and the former power, after the conquest of Rochelle, had, unknown to the emperor, seized the ducal throne of Mantua on behalf of the rightful heir, the Duke of Nevers. In the war which arose from this between the emperor and France, the former was at first successful,

and even intended to attack the French on their own soil, whereupon Richelieu turned to Sweden and persuaded Gustavus Adolphus, in return for assistance against his own adversaries, to join France in a war against the emperor. Gustavus Adolphus' sympathies had been all along with his fellow-religionists, and as the emperor had given assistance to the Poles, with whom he was at war, and Wallenstein had driven his cousins from their dukedoms in Mecklenburg, he welcomed Richelieu's offer.

The king of Sweden was in the prime of life, a heroic spirit in an iron body ; this powerful ally appeared unexpectedly with 15,000 brave Swedes, in good training and condition, first in the island of Asedorn, whence he made his way across Wollin to the Pomeranian coast, and having arrived on the mainland, he issued a manifesto, requesting the Protestant princes to join with him on behalf of the Protestant cause.

By the close of the year, Gustavus Adolphus had freed nearly the whole of Pomerania, but still only two or three of the princes had joined him, the greater number of them—incomprehensible as it may seem—refused their alliance on account of their mistrust of him as a stranger. Gustavus Adolphus had hardly completed the deliverance of Mecklenburg, when Tilly began to advance on Magdeburg. The king immediately hastened to storm Frankfurt on the Oder, in order to protect his rear and flank, and as Magdeburg was being harder pressed with each succeeding day, he forced his brother-in-law, the Elector Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg, to give up Spandau to him as a base of operations, while he begged the Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony to allow him to pass through his territory, in order that he might march to the relief of Magdeburg. While, however, the elector was hesitating, Magdeburg was taken and destroyed by Tilly and Pappenheim, 15,000 of its inhabitants being killed by fire and sword, or in other ways. The destruction of the town was not so much Tilly's work as Pappenheim's, the former desiring to take possession of it to serve as a central magazine of arms ; according to Tilly's own report, recently discovered, the garrison themselves set fire to the town in order to prevent it being used for this purpose by the armies of the League.

Tilly having failed in endeavouring to storm the king's fortified camp at Werben, turned his arms against Saxony. The elector now besought the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, who hastened to his help, and on September 7, 1631, the hitherto unvanquished Tilly was so thoroughly routed by the Swedes that the whole of Protestant Germany opened its arms to the conqueror, the more gladly that the humane behaviour of Gustavus Adolphus and the discipline of his soldiers were in striking contrast to the harsh cruelty of his adversary

and the disorderly conduct of his army. Gustavus Adolphus continued his victorious progress until he reached the Rhine, when he took possession of Mainz, and obliged the bishops of Spire and Worms to sign a compact with him.

Tilly meanwhile had reconquered Bamberg, and the king therefore, leaving the Rhine provinces under the protection of Duke Bernhard, marched through Kissingen and Nürnberg, and reaching the borders of Bavaria forced the passage of the Lech, in which encounter Tilly was mortally wounded, and finally after the capture of other towns made his entry into Munich at the same time that the elector of Saxony was entering the town of Prague.

The Protestants, on all sides, now saw themselves free and victorious. The Catholics found themselves all at once reduced to extremity, and the emperor had now to look to his own position in Germany.

Ferdinand in his extremity sent for Wallenstein, who had been leading the life of a prince on his own estates, that the latter might get a fresh army together. After some pretended hesitation and exorbitant demands as regards the authority which he insisted upon being put into his hands, Wallenstein consented. He was soon at the head of large forces, with which he first marched into Bohemia in order to recover it from the Saxons, and there took up his post at Eger, on the borders of Bavaria. He waited until he had obtained the supreme command of the combined imperial and Bavarian forces before penetrating into Bavaria. Here he was able to cut off the army of the king of Sweden from Saxony and Bavaria, so that Gustavus Adolphus moved on to Nürnberg, to protect this town. Wallenstein followed on his heels and pitched his camp near Zirndorf in the neighbourhood of Nürnberg. The armies lay fronting one another for eleven weeks, and the country was desolated by the prolonged war. To put an end to the misery Gustavus Adolphus made a sally, but was forced to return to his camp with the loss of 2,000 men. Then, with the intent of carrying the war back to Bavaria, he made a sudden and hasty march to Franconia. Hither, however, Wallenstein did not follow, but instead returned to Saxony, in hopes of breaking the alliance of the elector with the Swedes. To prevent this Gustavus Adolphus entered Saxony by rapid marches, and on November 6, 1632, was fought the battle of Lützen, in which Gustavus fell struck by two balls, whereupon his enraged Swedes, led by Bernhard of Weimar, engaged with Wallenstein and carried off the victory.

The death of the Swedish king brought dismay and grief to all Protestant Germany, on the other hand it delivered the country from the fear of Swedish domination. Had Gustavus Adolphus lived

longer the saviour might have become a conqueror, and turned the affection of those he had delivered into hate.

The superintendence of Swedish affairs in Germany was now conferred on Axel Oxenstjerna, who concluded the league of Heilbron with Suabia, Franconia and the Upper and Lower Rhine, while the Swedish troops were placed under the command of Duke Bernhard of Weimar. The latter marched against Bavaria; Wallenstein meanwhile was remaining inactive in Silesia, out of spite to the Elector Maximilian. He had for some time past been conscious that the powers in Vienna had repented of the command they had put into his hands, and consequently he entered into a treacherous alliance with France and Sweden, which was, however, discovered, and resulted in his murder at Eger on February 25 of the following year.

The command of the imperial army was now nominally placed in the hands of the emperor's son, Ferdinand, in reality in those of Count Gallas. The imperial troops were defeated by the Saxons at Liegnitz, but on their side were successful in recovering Regensburg from the Swedes. The latter suffered so severe a defeat at Nördlingen that Bernhard fled into Lorraine. The Elector of Saxony concluded the separate Peace of Prague with the emperor, in which the other Protestant States, with the exception of Hesse-Cassel, Würtemberg and Baden, who remained loyal to Sweden, joined.

The Swedish, French and German Wars (1635-48).—It seemed as if the longed-for peace might now settle down on Germany, but France, who had always secretly favoured the Swedes, now made open alliance with Sweden, her purpose being to lessen the power of the Habsburg, which seemed likely to be consolidated by the Peace of Prague, and to obtain the German Rhine provinces for herself. The religious war now became one of political parties, and the fight was no longer only for religious liberty but for independence from imperial dominion.

Oxenstjerna, through Richelieu's mediation, concluded a prolongation of the truce with Poland for twenty-six years, whereupon Field-Marshal Banér turned his forces against Saxony, the latter having declared war with Sweden. He was forced to retreat and lost Magdeburg, but the honour of the Swedish arms was retrieved at the sanguinary battle of Wittstock, as the result of which Brandenburg, Pomerania, Saxony, Thuringia and a part of Franconia fell into the hands of the Swedes.

Meanwhile open war was going on between the emperor and France along the Rhine. The forces of the former were unsuccessful in their attempts to penetrate into France and Picardy, and

in the midst of all these cares the Emperor Ferdinand II died, having previously secured the consent of the electors to the succession of his son Ferdinand III.

France invested Alsace and gave support and promises to Bernhard, but the latter refusing to give up the fort of Breisach, the French help in money was withdrawn, and he had to carry on the war at his own expense. He had previously wrested Franche-Comté from the Spaniards. Suddenly he fell ill and died (1639). Whereupon the French took Alsace and Breisgau, which had been promised to him as princedoms, into their own possession.

The devastating war went on for many years : attempts at bringing about a peace on the part of the pope in 1636 and on that of the emperor in 1640 came to nought. About this time the indefatigable Banér died ; his last military action was a fruitless bombardment of Regensburg. His successor Torstenson now became a formidable enemy to the emperor. Between 1642 and 1645 he had stormed Glogau, twice beaten the imperial troops, twice marched up to Vienna, had gained victories over Gallas and his army, and finally after further successes had forced the elector of Saxony to sign a treaty of neutrality. Torstenson, however, suffered from gout, and finally was obliged by physical infirmity to lay down his arms.

Meanwhile preliminaries of peace had been drawn up at Hamburg in 1642, and in 1644 the matter was brought to more definite issues at Münster, where the French appeared as representatives of the Catholics, and at Osnabrück, with the Swedes as representatives of the Protestants. But still affairs dragged on, each side hoping that more decisive victories might enable it to make further demands.

In the meantime Wrangel, who had taken Torstenson's place, and the famous Turenne had forced the elector of Bavaria, by their superior arms, to come to a separate truce with the Swedes. His Field-Marshal Johann de Werth, displeased at this proceeding, wanted to lead the Bavarian army over to the emperor, but as the army resisted, he fled alone to the emperor in Bohemia. Wrangel broke into Bohemia, and the emperor was so hard pressed, that Maximilian repented of his defection and revoked the truce ; whereupon Wrangel and Turenne turned their arms again on Bavaria, and the elector was forced to see his country cruelly devastated before imperial help could reach him. About the same time the Swedish general Königsmark had surprised Prague, and taken some of the outworks, when at last the word of peace went forth, and on October 24, 1648, at Westphalia, the end of the long misery and anarchy throughout the realm came to an end.

Terms of the Peace.—The Thirty Years' War had destroyed the well-being of Germany ; the half of its inhabitants had died by

sword, pestilence or hunger ; many towns and innumerable smaller places had been destroyed, agriculture and commerce had fallen into decay, science and art had come to a standstill, and splendid works, products of centuries, had been destroyed, and worse still, German morals and manners had seriously deteriorated.

The one great gain for aftertime arising from the peace was the establishment of religious freedom, Catholics and Protestants being placed on an equal footing as regards their rights. From a political point of view it destroyed the unity of Germany, for from that time forth it was but a loose bond composed of 300 larger and lesser states each with its own constitution.

Chapter VIII

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

England and the two first Stuart Kings—The English Revolution—The Commonwealth—Cromwell—The Restoration—Charles II—James II—William of Orange.

WHILE Germany was being devastated by the Thirty Years' War, England had known the horrors of civil war, and a revolution, the political incitement to which was aggravated by differences of religious opinion. The English Catholics had placed their hopes in Elizabeth's successor, for James I had concluded a peace with Spain and withdrawn his help from the Netherlands. As he proved, however, to be as severe in the exaction of fines from the Catholic recusants as from Protestant, certain fanatics of the former sect, under Robert Catesby, organized the Gunpowder Plot which was to exterminate King and Parliament at one blow ; it was, however, discovered in time to prevent it being put into effect ; Guy Fawkes, a native of Yorkshire, had been the one chosen to fire the mine. The result was that stricter laws were passed against the Catholics.

James was now giving himself up entirely to the guidance of Buckingham, a man who was in no small measure responsible for the extravagance and immorality of the court. Walter Raleigh, the great navigator, was sent by him to the block, on account of the failure of his expedition in search of gold. Buckingham was sent by the king to negotiate a marriage between Prince Charles and a Spanish princess, but his behaviour brought him into such disfavour in Spain that the affair was not carried through. Later on he was more successful in bringing about a match between the prince and Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV and Mary de Medici.

James I died in 1625 ; his successor at first won the esteem of all by his behaviour and disposition, and by his love of art and science, but he alienated the favour of the more extreme Protestants by his marriage with a Catholic. His attempt to lessen the power of Parliament brought him into violent opposition with this body.

The favouritism shown to Buckingham, the object of general

hatred, was also detrimental to his popularity. When Parliament was preparing to impeach Buckingham, the king dissolved it. France having refused to ally itself with England on behalf of Frederick V of the Palatinate, Charles, on the advice of Buckingham, determined to help the Huguenots, and sent the latter with a fleet to Rochelle. But it arrived too late. Then Parliament again threatened him with an impeachment. To save his favourite Charles gave his assent to the *Petition of Right*. This document, most important in the constitutional history of England next after the Magna Carta, provided against four abuses: (1) The raising of money by loans, taxes, etc.; (2) imprisonment without cause shown; (3) the quartering of soldiers in private houses; and (4) trial by martial law, without jury. While Buckingham was preparing a second expedition against France, he was assassinated by a lieutenant named Felton. His place as royal adviser was taken by Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, a strong supporter of the absolute power of the crown. For eleven years the king reigned without calling a Parliament, during which time he raised money by sale of monopolies and by fines imposed by the Star Chamber. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was another of the king's supporters, who made enemies by his endeavour to restore some of the Catholic forms of worship. The Scotch were roused to a fierce opposition by the king's endeavour to introduce the Liturgy into the Scottish Church; on the first occasion of an attempt being made to read it in the Cathedral of Edinburgh, the bishop narrowly escaped with his life from the missiles hurled at him. In a few days 60,000 men were in arms to defend the Covenant, and Charles, finding his own military attempts unavailing, was forced to sign the Pacification of Berwick. Being in need of more money he called a Parliament in 1640, which he again immediately dissolved. From this time forward the Puritans and the patriots entered into close alliance with the Scotch. Charles determined to reduce the latter by force of arms, but before the army was ready to start, Leslie entered England at the head of the Scotch, and Charles found himself forced to accede to all the latter's demands, and to call another Parliament, which became known as the Long Parliament, November 30, 1640.

The opposition was led by Pym, Hampden, Cromwell and others, and one of their first acts was to bring an impeachment against Strafford and Laud. The king, afraid of the people, made no effort to deliver Strafford, who was executed on May 12, 1641; Laud, who was seventy-two years of age, met with the same fate three years later. About this time the Irish rose in rebellion, but Parliament refused the money necessary for its suppression. The king, in an unadvised moment, determined to go himself to the

House of Commons and demand that the five chief members of the House should be delivered up to him as traitors: he gained nothing by his act of folly, it was only one more step in the direction of the revolution, and he had to acknowledge the indissolubility of the Parliament. Parliament desired of the king that the militia should be handed over to it, and being refused it raised an army of its own under the earl of Essex. Charles left London in 1642, and lifted his standard at Nottingham. The engagement which began the Civil War was the indecisive battle of Edgehill, fought on October 23. During the first year of the Civil War the king had the advantage. Parliament lost Hampden in a skirmish on Chalgrove Field, and Pym died shortly after. The king called an opposition Parliament at Oxford on January 29, 1644; so far the king's cause was well supported by men and money. But now the Scotch joined forces with Fairfax, and the Parliamentary party became further strengthened by the presence of the austere Cromwell, and the victory over the Royalists led by Prince Rupert at Marston Moor (July 2, 1644), was followed by a succession of disasters for the king's party. Prince Rupert was again defeated at Naseby, and Montrose near Selkirk, and the king himself was besieged in Oxford by the Parliamentary army. He managed to escape and to reach Scotland, refusing to accept the terms offered by Parliament, which were urged upon him by the Scotch, one item being the abolition of episcopacy; the latter gave him up in 1647 to Newcastle for £400,000, and he was kept an honourable prisoner at Holmby. Presbyterianism now had the upper hand, and much destruction was done to the pictures, monuments, etc., of the churches.

It seemed as if the Civil War of four years had come to an end, but the Parliament itself was divided into two factions, of which the Presbyterians were the stronger; but on the other hand the Independents had Fairfax and Cromwell for leaders, and were largely supported by the army. The former party wished to disband the army, but the Independents, bringing the king with them, marched to London and demanded the dismissal of the chief Presbyterians from the House. They had their way, and the democratic element in Parliament was thereby weakened, power more and more falling into the hands of the Independents and the army, of which some of the officers, the "Levellers," exercised increasing influence on the government. Cromwell could say with truth at this time that he had "the king in his hand and the Parliament in his pocket." The king tried to play off the two parties against each other, and entered into secret negotiations with the Scotch loyalists. Finding all his efforts fail, he escaped to the Isle of Wight. A diversion was made

in his favour by the Scotch loyalists, but Cromwell defeated them at Preston and in two other engagements. Colonel Pride and his regiment "purged" the House of those members who still wished to negotiate with the king. The remainder of the members, composing what was known as the "Rump Parliament," now called "Charles Stuart" to his trial. They appointed a High Court of Justice, with John Bradshaw as president, which condemned the king to death, and Charles was beheaded on January 30, 1649.

COMMONWEALTH

The English Republic, the Restoration, the two last Stuarts, and the Revolution.—The fall of the king did not bring peace to the kingdom, for anarchism again reared its head. On the very day of his death the Commonwealth was established, which was in reality only an oligarchy based on the choice of the army. Cromwell put down the mutiny of a certain number of the Levellers with a strong hand; the rebellion in Ireland he crushed with merciless severity, and when the Scotch rose under Argyle, he marched against them and defeated them at Dunbar (1650). Charles II now entered England, having been proclaimed king in Scotland, and was joined by the English Royalists; Cromwell hastened back from Scotland, where he left an army under Monk, and so entirely crushed the royal forces at Worcester, that Charles had to make his escape to France, which he only reached after many hairbreadth escapes.

Scotland and Ireland were now brought into more or less subjection, the one by Monk, the other by Ireton, and then followed, owing to the Navigation Act (1651), a naval war with Holland, in which the two famous admirals, Blake and Van Tromp, were engaged, the English remaining the victors (1650), off Cape La Hogue.

Cromwell now began to consider the restoration of the former constitution, but meeting with opposition from the Parliament, he finally dissolved the Rump or Long Parliament, and called a new one which was composed of extremely puritanic noblemen, and known as Barebones Parliament, or the Little Parliament, among the members being a party designated the Fanatics. In 1653 he was elected the Lord Protector by his Council of officers, the new Parliament having voluntarily resigned their power into his hands. In 1654 he called his first Parliament, which quarrelled with him and was dissolved. England rose as a sea-power under Cromwell; Jamaica and Dunkirk were taken from the Spaniards, and Blake cleared the Mediterranean of pirates. Parliament now offered him the title of king, which he refused. His third Parliament was called

in 1658, but refusing to acknowledge the House of Lords, which he had newly created, he again dissolved it in anger. He now went in fear of his life, being surrounded by secret enemies; the loss of a favourite daughter was, it seemed, the last strain on his overwrought spirit, and not long after he himself breathed his last, September 3, 1658.

Richard, his son, was elected as his successor, but he lacked his father's power, and preferred the life of a country gentleman. The Rump Parliament was restored, and Richard retired from government. Meanwhile the Royalists and Presbyterians, kept in check at first by Lambert and Fleetwood, suddenly marched south under General Monk, who reached London under the pretence of upholding the civil power, and there declared for a Free Parliament; the Presbyterian members now returned to their seats, and the Rump dissolved of itself. Monk now entered into negotiations with Charles II, who was in the Netherlands, and as the greater number of members composing the new Parliament were Royalists, the king returned to England and was restored to his throne amid universal rejoicings. So the Restoration was accomplished.

The Restored Stuarts: Charles the Second (1660-85).—Charles II kept none of his promises. He restored episcopacy, and deprived over 2,000 Presbyterians of their livings; some unfortunates emigrated to America. He endeavoured to carry out the same work in Scotland, but with less success. He reorganized the army, and ten, who had been implicated in his father's condemnation, were executed. He married a Catholic princess, and, although he did not openly profess Catholicism, his brother James, duke of York, and many others did so, and received good posts accordingly. He finally awakened such a powerful opposition on the Whig side that he was forced to consent to the "Test Act"; during the Whig ministry under Shaftesbury, the Habeas Corpus Act was passed.

The sale of Dunkirk, and the Dutch war, in which the English and French were defeated by De Ruyter, angered the people, but in the excitement caused by the discovery of a plot against his life (Rye House Plot), the king was enabled to dismiss the Whig ministry. For the remainder of his reign he governed without a Parliament.

James the Second (1685-88).—Charles was succeeded by his brother James. Monmouth, Charles' natural son, failed in his efforts to secure the throne. James did not know the English temper, and now began, apparently by constitutional methods, to secure the unlimited power of the crown and the re-establishment of the Catholic Church. He exercised his dispensing power in regard to the Test Act, and twice published a Declaration of Indulgence, in order to favour the Catholics, which was ordered to be read in the churches, the

seven bishops who resisted being imprisoned. They were tried and acquitted, and when shortly after an heir to the throne was born, the Whigs sent to invite the king's nephew, the Protestant Prince William of Orange, over to England. He landed in 1688 in Tor Bay, a large part of the army deserted to him, and James finally fled to France. The Convention declared the throne vacant, and William and his wife Mary were crowned as joint sovereigns of Great Britain. This was the *English Revolution* which put an end to the struggle between king and people. During this reign were passed the Bill of Rights, the Toleration Act, and the Act of Settlement this last providing for the future Protestant succession to the throne. His conciliatory policy won over the adverse parties, both in religion and politics, and secured the throne of Scotland.

James II attempted, with the help of France, to recover his kingdom, but was defeated at the Boyne (1690), and near La Hogue (1692). Ireland was also brought into subjection by force of arms.

William, who steadily opposed the power of Louis XIV, helped to secure the independence of Europe. He greatly forwarded the interests of commerce and brought our trade into consideration abroad. He died in 1702, with the reputation of having essentially promoted the political and mercantile prosperity of the country.

Chapter IX

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Louis XIV (1643-1715)—Regency of Anne of Austria—Mazarin—Louis XIV his own Prime Minister—Ministry of Colbert—Influence of Louvois—Wars with Spain—Wars with Holland—Treaty of Nimeguen—League against France—Madame de Maintenon—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—The Treaty of Ryswick—War of the Spanish Succession—Death of Louis XIV.

LOUIS XIV was not five years old when his father's death acted as a signal for a kind of revolution. His mother, Anne of Austria, had long been suspected as an enemy to the policy of the last reign. Her first care was to get the Parliament to annul Louis XIII's will and to make her regent with unlimited power. The new government did not, however, fulfil all the anticipations of "Richelieu's victims." His enemies had hoped to govern in the name of their ancient ally, the Spaniards hoped for a complete change of policy under a regent of the House of Austria—but contrary to all expectation Anne, once regent, proved extremely alive to her responsibility and anxiously safeguarded her son's interests. It was inevitable that there should be a reaction at court, which was soon, however, compromised by the excesses of the dominant faction, and many of Richelieu's ministers were deprived of their posts. For six months incessant cabals were being formed, and the state of faction continued; but Anne was already coming under the influence of Mazarin, whom Richelieu, when dying, had recommended to Louis XIII as the only man capable of carrying on his policy. Mazarin, although not without certain of the qualities which distinguished his predecessor, was, however, a man of entirely different character. Affable, gentle and humane, he sought rather to please than to overawe. He soon won the confidence, perhaps even the affection, of the queen.

Administration of Mazarin (1643-61).—As regards his external policy Mazarin was a worthy successor of Richelieu, but he did nothing to mitigate the sufferings of the people or to correct abuses. Instead of endeavouring to introduce reforms he met the financial

necessities of the moment by introducing two unpopular measures, the *Edit du toisé*, which was a tax on all buildings raised without the old boundaries of Paris, and the *Édit du tarif*, which increased the duty on goods brought into the town, while enforced loans and other means employed for raising money brought about a partial state of bankruptcy. At this time the revolution was taking place in England, and the Parliament of Paris constituted itself the representative organ of the people. Abuses were evident, the government weak, and Anne, though not lacking in energy, was entirely without administrative talent, while the foreign minister did not inspire the fear that Richelieu had. Parliament therefore did not hide its pretension of being a national representative body, which it justified by exercising the ancient rights of *enrégistrement* and *remontrance*. For a time, with the support of popular feeling, it could hold its own, but its composition alone—seeing that it was an assembly of magistrates holding their power from the king—condemned it to impuissance. On June 30, 1648, the delegates of the Parliament, and of other administrative bodies, met in the *Chambre Saint-Louis* and drew up a plan of reform composed of twenty-seven articles, some more or less excellent, others impracticable. Mazarin after a feeble resistance yielded, hoping thereby to ensure the dissolution of the *Chambre Saint-Louis*, and put an end to the agitation. The feebleness of the minister only emboldened the popular party, and he determined to resort to force. He ordered the arrest of three prominent members of the Parliament. This was the signal for a general explosion, and barricades were erected in all parts of Paris. A hundred and sixty magistrates marched through Paris to the Louvre to demand the prisoners, where the queen faced them “brave as a soldier” and reproached them for the disorder they had caused. Then the agitation became terrible; the magistrates on their return were hooted and ill-treated, but nothing daunted the courage of the firm and dignified president Mathieu Molé; he passed through the infuriated crowd without for an instant paling; “the most intrepid man that the country has known” was the verdict upon him of Cardinal de Retz. The prisoners were finally given their liberty.

The most conspicuous man during the day of the barricades and for some time after was Paul de Gondi, the coadjutor of the archbishop of Paris. He aimed at supplanting Mazarin, and flattering himself that he could guide the populace according to his will, he fancied that he could overawe the court by menacing it with the people.

But Anne, impatient to suppress the insolence of Parliament, having troops at her command now that the Peace of Westphalia was concluded, and being assured of the support of the prince of Condé,

fled from Paris in the middle of the night of January 6, 1649, accompanied by her court, and took refuge at St. Germain. It was the signal for civil war.

The war merited from its beginning the name given it—that of a child's game—the "Fronde." The Parisians laughed at the troops improvised by Parliament. The Parliament and the bourgeoisie were, however, serious in their demands for reform, but the princes who joined them were animated by mere frivolity, love of disorder, and a desire to recover an independence which endangered public order. A party composed of members who mingled frivolous intrigues with graver interests was bound to be quickly dissolved. The princes, faithful to the traditions of Richelieu's enemies, entered into relations with the Spaniards. This incensed Parliament, and through the efforts of President Molé peace was concluded at Rueil, April 1649.

Fresh intrigues now arose. Condé, proud of his triumph, endeavoured to take the law into his own hands, and to bring the court he had saved into obedience to himself. His pretensions became equally insupportable to the "Mazarins" and the "Frondeurs." Gondi and the cardinal conspired together against him, and Mazarin caused him to be arrested, together with his brother and his brother-in-law. The arrest was the signal for a fresh Fronde. The wives of the imprisoned men endeavoured to raise men, but their movements were quickly suppressed, and Turenne, who entered France at the head of an army of Spaniards, was defeated at Rethel by Marshal Duplessis-Praslin. But Mazarin and Gondi did not long remain on amicable terms. A coalition was formed between the two "Frondes," Mazarin's position was in danger, his policy called to account even by Molé, the nobility and clergy incited against him by his enemies, and demanding the meeting of the États Généraux; nothing was left him but to yield to the storm, and he left the court and retired to Bruhl. Some of his ministers were retained, and Anne remained more his friend than ever.

Condé, now at liberty, believed himself master of the situation, but he soon became aware that Mazarin, even at a distance, still continued to exercise his influence on the queen-regent and the court. He also quarrelled with Gondi, and the latter, in hopes of the cardinal's hat, making a party with the queen, Condé felt himself abandoned, and in disgust entered into treacherous communication with Spain and endeavoured to raise a revolt in Guyenne. The indignation aroused throughout France by his conduct assured the triumph of the court. Mazarin returned with a small army, which he put under Turenne's command, and rejoined the court. Condé marching up quickly from Bordeaux, defeated the royal forces under

Hocquincourt ; proceeding to Gien, where Mazarin was settled, he was met by Turenne, and effectually checked in his victorious course at Bleneau, April 1652. A few months later the two hostile commanders met again under the walls of Paris. Condé was saved by the Grande Mademoiselle, daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, who ordered the guns of the Bastille to be fired on the royal forces. But as neither the Parliament nor the citizens desired a prolongation of the war, Condé, in spite of an organized massacre of the "Mazarins," was forced to leave the city, whereupon he rejoined the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Paris was calling aloud for the return of the king and peace. Gondj, known from this time forth as the Cardinal de Retz, saw the impossibility of continuing the struggle. Mazarin, in order to clear away the last obstacles to reconciliation, again retired from court. The king made a kind of triumphal entry into Paris ; those most compromised by their past behaviour were banished, among them the Grande Mademoiselle and her father. Cardinal de Retz and his clergy had heralded the king's entry, driving into the city in twenty-two carriages each drawn by six horses, but he was nevertheless arrested and shut up at Vincennes ; the world of politics knew him no more, and he finally died in obscurity at Commercy. Parliament was ordered to refrain in future from interfering in affairs of state and finance, and obeyed without protestation. And so absolutism had won the day.

Order being re-established, Mazarin turned his whole attention to bringing the war with Spain to an end. The Spaniards had taken advantage of late affairs to recapture Barcelona, Casale and Dunkirk. Turenne gained a brilliant victory at Arras ; a treaty with Cromwell gave France the support of England. Turenne's further victory on the Dunes gave Dunkirk back to the French, who, according to treaty, relinquished that town to the English. Mazarin's astute policy was further able to deprive Spain of the support of Austria ; besides obtaining the promise of the Emperor Leopold not to support Spain against France, he also brought about the Ligue du Rhin, which was in reality an organized protectorate of France established in the Rhine provinces.

Spain, thoroughly exhausted, consented to the Peace of the Pyrenees, Mazarin securing Artois and Roussillon for France, and the hand of Marie-Thérèse, eldest daughter of Philippe IV, for Louis XIV, with a dowry of 500,000 gold crowns. The Infanta was to renounce all claim to the Spanish throne, but Mazarin made this conditional on the payment of the dowry. The dowry was never paid, and on these grounds Louis later based his pretensions to the Spanish succession. This peace was the culminating event of Mazarin's career. He died March 9, 1681, aged fifty-nine.

Louis XIV his own Prime Minister.—The period of Louis XIV's reign which extended from the death of Mazarin to that of Colbert (1661–83) was one of brilliant success. The king at this time was twenty-three years of age. Hitherto he had apparently cared only for his pleasures, but on the first day of his return to power he made open declaration of his resolution to reign without the help of a prime minister. Louis XIV is supposed to have expressed his ideas of kingship in the famous epigram: *L'État c'est moi* (I am the State). When asked by his secretaries of state to whom they were in future to apply—"To me," was his reply. The Council of State was retained, but all the subordinate departments were daily presided over by the king, and subordinated to the "Conseil d'en Haut." The two chief ministers who shared with Louis the glory of these first years were Colbert and Louvois. Fouquet, who had been at the head of the finances and had acquired a very considerable fortune, was convicted of his malpractices; tried and imprisoned for life, he died in the citadel of Pignerol in 1680. Colbert took his place as controller-general. This "man of marble" was the exact man required to bring about the needful reforms. Being also at the head of other departments of state he had practically the whole domestic administration of the kingdom under his control. The finances of the country, as well as its navy, its commerce, its public works, felt the benefit of his vigorous administrative genius, and he was rightly entitled the "Richelieu of Peace."

Ministry of Colbert.—A few years sufficed Colbert to bring the finances into order. Some of his measures did not escape criticism, but a popular reform was the redistribution of taxes which had hitherto been levied exclusively from the agricultural classes, while over 40,000 families had been exempted by the purchase of titles or of judicial posts. By insisting on these taking the share of the burden, the former were relieved by the lessening of the demand upon them to the extent of nearly twenty-five millions. On the other hand he augmented the amount of the indirect taxes, which were levied on all classes alike, from one million to twenty-one millions. The result of these reforms in 1667 was a surplus of revenue amounting to thirty-one millions. He has been reproached with neglecting agriculture, but many of his measures were for the help and support of those who tilled the land and bred cattle. Unfortunately, he gave ear to popular prejudice, and forbade the transport of wheat from one province to another; this led to disastrous consequences, and together with the continual recurrence of war and increased taxation, which became more and more disabling to the agriculturist, was one of the chief causes of the decay of agriculture at the close of this century.

On the other hand he gave an enormous impulse to French industries, and provided every encouragement for the various manufactures (some which he created have not survived, but from his time date several of the famous large factories for silk and other commodities, and he further revived the industries at Gobelins and Beauvais). He was the first to understand that if France wished to preserve and extend her power, she must develop her industrial capacity. A system of protection known as Colbertism was introduced by him on behalf of this domestic commerce. With the same aim in view he made efforts to develop maritime commerce. Foreign vessels had to pay toll before entering the French ports, and privileges were extended to the East and West India Companies and others, which were all of his creation. France already possessed colonies in the west, and others were added before the close of the reign.

The navy can hardly be said to have existed before Colbert's time. The fleet created by Richelieu had almost completely disappeared by 1661. In 1672 the three ports of Cette, Rochefort and Dunkerque harboured considerably over a hundred vessels, and at Colbert's death, there were over 272, including all classes. An "Ordonnance de Marine," 1681, arranged for the administration of naval affairs. Under Colbert and his son de Seignelay, the French navy took first rank among the navies of the world. Among his public works were the suppression of the *douanes* stationed round the different provinces and the creation and improvement of the roads, the latter work calling forth the admiration of Mme. de Sévigné. He encouraged Riquet in his construction of the Canal du Midi. Among his other ordonnances were the "Code Louis," the "Code Noir" for the colonies, and others for woods and forests and commerce. It should be further mentioned to his honour that he founded the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, the *Académie des Sciences*, and the *École de Rome*.

Influence of Louvois.—Louvois, Secretary of State for War, succeeded his father Michel Le Tellier in 1666. His administration effected a transformation in the organization of the army. Several measures had already been tried in order to concentrate military authority in the king. Under Louis XIII matters of war had been wholly in the hands of a single secretary of state; the authority of the secretaries of state was, however, far from what it became later. Louvois was the first to make it absolute. Turenne was the only one of the generals who refused to submit to the orders of the minister. Louvois brought the administration of military affairs to a perfection beyond what had hitherto been known, and beyond what was attained until later by the other armaments of Europe. He saw to the provision of rations and ambulances; he made pro-

motion dependent on deeds of valour or length of service, instead of on birth or favour. Military schools were organized by him under the name of *Compagnies de Cadets*, as well as special artillery schools. He insisted on the same uniform being worn at least by the soldiers of the same corps, and severely repressed the abuse that had been long standing of introducing odd men, who pretended to be soldiers, on the days of parade and reviews, thereby deceiving the generals themselves as to the number of their forces. Fresh regiments were formed, and rifles with bayonets supplied to a certain number of them, although the pike did not disappear till later. The most important innovation was the formation of a corps of military engineers, of which body Vauban was one of the most famous representatives. His name has come down associated with honour, both in political and military history. It was he who erected along the French frontiers that formidable array of fortresses, which saved the country from invasion in 1708 and 1792. He brought the art of defensive structure to perfection. This famous engineer was moreover a devoted citizen; he claims to be one of the founders of political economy by his works, *Oisivetés* and *Dîme royale*, and fully deserved the name of *patriot* given to him by Saint-Simon.

Two new institutions were founded to do honour to arms: the Hôtel des Invalides, and the Ordre Militaire de Saint-Louis.

Impotence of other Powers.—In 1661 France, by general European consent, exercised a kind of supremacy over the other nations. The House of Austria had been overpowered and was now allied to France by marriage; Spain had lost its power, and the emperor, exercising little authority in the empire itself and continually menaced by the Turk, was not in a position to offer any opposition; the Italian princes were protégés of France, as were the Dutch, whom the French supported against Spain, and the Swedes owed to their alliance with France the acquisitions which had become theirs by the Peace of Westphalia. England, again, had given one of its princesses as wife to the king of France.

Louis XIV's first acts after receiving the kingdom from the hands of Cardinal Mazarin showed that he intended to make use of his power. A quarrel which took place in London between the French and Spanish ambassadors gave Louis occasion to menace Spain with a rupture and to bring this country to her knees. The pope did not come in for better treatment. The French ambassador being insulted by the Corsican guard in Rome, Louis seized Avignon and threatened to send troops into Italy. Rome was forced to give in, to make apologies, to disperse the guard, and to put up a monument in memory of the insult and its reparation. Notwithstanding this,

however, Louis was anxious to show his zeal against infidels ; he forced the Mediterranean pirates to cease for a while from their depredations, and in conjunction with the imperial forces, his army under Coligny gained a brilliant victory over the Turks. His efforts to relieve the Venetians besieged in Crete by the Turks were not successful in preventing the loss of that island.

Louis XIV, profiting by the indolence and indifference of the English King Charles II, purchased Dunkirk and Mardick ; the former became thereafter a nest of corsairs. Shortly after this, war broke out between England and Holland, and the latter, on the strength of their alliance, sought assistance from Louis. The latter, secretly in agreement with Charles II, did not intervene ; that the two powerful navies should destroy one another was only to his advantage. Seeing this, the adversaries, tired of their struggle, signed the Peace of Breda. In exchange for some of the Lesser Antilles, Louis XIV made England cede to France Arcadia, or New Scotland.

Louis attacks the Spanish Netherlands.—Meanwhile Philip IV of Spain had died, and his weakly successor Charles II, still a child, seemed doomed to early death. In virtue of the Droit de Dévolution, Louis immediately laid claim to a part of the Low Countries. In Brabant, it was customary for property to devolve on the children of a first marriage, to the exclusion of those of the second ; according to this Maria Theresa's rights were superior to those of her brother Charles II. The Spaniards objected that she had renounced her claim upon her marriage ; but then again the dowry had never been paid. Negotiations went on for some time ; finally war broke out. Louis XIV and Turenne marched into Flanders, where they met with little resistance and took several important towns. Europe became alarmed. At the instigation of Sir William Temple, English ambassador in Holland, a Triple Alliance was concluded between Holland, England and Sweden. Louis then entered into a compact with the Emperor Leopold, according to which it was agreed that on the death of the king of Spain, they two should divide the Spanish kingdom between them. Spain and the Low Countries refused his offers of reconciliation. Condé, meanwhile, had secretly collected a large army, and he suddenly entered Franche-Comté and took possession of their chief fortress, without meeting with any serious resistance. The whole campaign only occupied twenty days (February 1668). Europe became still more uneasy. Louis XIV was in a position to face the menaces of the Triple Alliance, and Turenne and Condé urged him to complete the conquest of the Low Countries. Louis, however, anxious to maintain his reputation for moderation, consented to peace, on condition of retaining certain of his conquered possessions. By the Treaty of

Aix-la-Chapelle he was given possession of those already won by him in the Low Countries (May 2, 1668).

War with Holland.—France had thus acquired some useful additional territory, but Europe had shown itself defiant and ready to defend the balance of power as determined by the Treaties of Westphalia. Holland was, however, the only country to show open hospitality to the policy of France, it being of moment to this country that Louis should not get possession of the Low Countries. It was against Holland, therefore, that Louis directed his arms, foreseeing profit to his own navy and commerce by the destruction of those of Holland. A tariff war had been waging between the two countries since Colbert's imposition of protective duties. Louis himself was beginning to forget his policy of moderation; many things added to his animosity against the Dutch, one being that Holland was the refuge of his Protestant subjects, and another that the Dutch had secured their independence through the help of his own predecessors. But by going to war with Holland, Louis laid himself open to the certainty of coalitions being formed against him, as they had been against the House of Austria. The Emperor promised to remain neutral, and a secret alliance was concluded with the English king, in spite of the hostile attitude to France of the English nation.

Holland was at this time under the governance of Jean de Witt, a clever statesman and a man of splendid character. His authority, however, was not universally accepted, his party being violently opposed by that of Nassau, the young prince of Orange. The latter were supported by the army, while the navy, commanded by de Ruyter and Cornelius de Witt, were devoted adherents of the republican party.

The French army, commanded among others by the king himself and Turenne, made the passage of the Rhine and entered Holland, and were shortly in occupation of three of the provinces. The success of the campaign seemed now assured, but the French generals, unaware of the strategic importance of the Muyden, neglected to take possession of it, although at that crisis it was, together with the Hague and Amsterdam, completely without defence. Louis XIV was now in a position to make favourable terms for himself. De Witt made offers, but Louis was not satisfied; his exorbitant demands, however, ruined his cause, for Holland rose in a general revolt, which was unfortunately accompanied by the murder of the two De Witts. Holland, however, was saved. William, prince of Orange, was elected Stadtholder, and immediately carried out the heroic measure of destroying the dykes, which was the ruin of the country, but effectually cleared the further progress of the French armies.

Louis returned to Saint-Germain, leaving Luxembourg in command, who made a brave march over the frozen canals, but being overtaken by a thaw had difficulty in returning to his entrenchments. The Anglo-French fleet under the duke of York and Admiral d'Estrées, failed to accomplish the invasion of Holland, being exhausted by the indecisive engagement with de Ruyter in Sole Bay.

Turenne was now engaged in hostilities with the elector of Brandenburg and Montécucoli, the emperor's general, whom he pursued beyond the Weser and forced to separate; the elector was also forced to sign a peace (April 1673).

Maestricht, one of the most important of the Dutch towns, was captured in 1673, but a coalition, embracing Spain and most of the German provinces, was now formed and gave a different complexion to the war. France found herself isolated, and it was soon evident that Holland was not the country that would suffer most by the continuation of hostilities: such was the issue of William of Orange's clever policy and of Louis XIV's lack of moderation. Even the alliance with England came to an end, for public opinion in this country obliged Charles II to sign a peace with Holland.

Louis was forced to evacuate Holland, and was finally left in possession of Maestricht as the only result of his past successes: he took his revenge by attacking Franche-Comté, which was conquered in two months' time and has ever since remained in French hands. The coalition had formed the plan of invading France on three sides; the allies were, however, driven back, at Perpignan by the duc de Navailles, on the north by Condé at Senef, and on the east by Turenne.

Turenne confirmed his reputation by his achievements during this campaign. In 1674-75 he saved Alsace, defeating the enemy at Mulhausen and Turckheim. The following year, 1675, he was preparing an attack on the imperial forces, when he was struck by a spent bullet while making a survey of his position, and killed (July 27). Louis XIV accorded him the honour of being buried at St. Denis. Again Alsace was in danger; this time it was Condé who rescued it from the imperial forces. It was his last great campaign; undermined in health, he retired, and died eleven years later. The loss of his two best generals was a severe misfortune to Louis, and affairs were aggravated by the defeat of Marshal Créquy at Consarbruck, and that of his allies the Swedes at Fehrbellin.

In 1676 the chief successes of the French were in the Mediterranean; Messina, since 1674, had been under the protection of France; Spain and Holland combined their fleets in order to recover it for Spain, its former master. Indecisive battles were fought off Stromboli and Agosta, in the last of which the famous De Ruyter

was killed. Finally the French admiral, Duquesne, destroyed both of the enemy's fleets, and France remained mistress of the Mediterranean (1678).

Treaty of Nimeguen.—Meanwhile on land Louis had gained a certain advantage, but not sufficient to induce his enemies to dissolve the coalition; on the contrary, alarmed by the growing power of the French navy, England had forced its king to declare war. Louis XIV hastened to come to a treaty with the allies before England joined them. By the Treaty of Nimeguen (1678) he restored Maestricht to the Dutch, and in their favour abolished the protective tariff. On his side he had liberty given him to impose what terms he chose upon Spain; the latter was forced to cede a considerable number of places in the Low Countries besides Franche-Comté, and the northern frontier of France, hitherto very irregular, now followed very much the same line that it does at present. William of Orange and the imperialists had opposed the peace, but finally all the allies were forced to lay down their arms. Louis had emerged triumphant from the struggle, and henceforth was to be known as *Le Grand*. But the glory was not without its shadow. Taxation had become a crushing burden to the country, and had been the cause of trouble in Normandy, Bretagne and Guyenne; Colbert had been forced to fall back on the disastrous resource of loans. Holland, far from being weakened by the war, was stronger than ever, and England was only waiting an opportunity for showing its animosity—and, to sum up, Europe still uneasy, had got into the habit of forming coalitions.

Louis was now at the height of his power; Colbert's influence was on the decline, Louvois's in the ascendant, for the former preached peace and economy and the latter flattered the taste of the king for war and magnificence.

By the late treaties France had been assigned certain towns and territories with their dependent states. Certain tribunals were appointed to decide upon these latter, and finally adjudged to the king the duchy of Deux-Ponts and a part of Luxemburg, with the county of Montbéliard, Wissemburg and even Strasburg. This town retained its municipal and religious privileges, and up to the Revolution remained a kind of republic on French soil, but during a union of two centuries its sons became attached to their new country. On the same day that the French entered Strasburg they also took possession of Casale, which was considered the key of Italy, and had been sold to Louis XIV by the duke of Mantua.

League against France.—Holland, Sweden and Spain leagued themselves together to insist on France keeping to the terms of the treaties, but the league was ineffectual. The emperor was menaced

in his own territory by the rebellious Hungarians and the invading Turks. The latter marched to besiege Vienna in 1683, and were only repulsed by the heroic John Sobieski, king of Poland. The empire was too divided, Spain too feeble, Holland too busy repairing her late wounds; all the Powers had laid down their arms, Louis only had kept his army on a war footing. Europe appeared to accept the *status quo*. The Treaty of Ratisbon, concluded for twenty years, left Louis in possession of Strasburg, Kehl and Luxemburg, besides other places of lesser importance.

The bombardment of Algiers, of Tunis, and of Tripoli, which followed one another from 1681 to 1685, were a just punishment for the depredations of the Mediterranean pirates, but the attack on a Christian town naturally gave cause for expostulations; Genoa, guilty of having sold ammunition to the Algerians, and of having furnished Spain with vessels during the late war, was bombarded and partially destroyed by the French fleet, and its doge had to repair to Versailles to present his excuses to the *Grand Monarch*.

Madame de Maintenon and the Huguenots.—The most Christian king showed as little consideration to the head of the Church. Since 1673 he had been at war with Rome on account of the *régale* (certain royal rights). It had been a custom from old time that during the vacancy of an ecclesiastical see the king had a right to the revenues and to the exercise of all rights attached to it. Louis wished to extend this prerogative to certain dioceses in the south, and was opposed by Innocent XI. An assembly of the clergy in 1681 endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting parties, fearful of schism with the Church on the one hand and of the royal anger on the other. The clergy succeeded in safeguarding the unity of the Church, but not in satisfying the court of Rome. In short, by the famous declaration of 1682, the council affirmed the independence of the temporal power, and recognized a superior authority to that of the pope at the œcumenical councils. On his side the pope protested, and refused investiture to every ecclesiastic who subscribed to the Four Articles. As a consequence of this, twenty-nine episcopal sees were vacant in the course of a few years. The quarrel grew more acute, and fresh causes came to embitter the adversaries. The pontifical government now abolished the right of asylum which had, since the Middle Ages, been enjoyed at Rome by foreign ambassadors. All the sovereigns gave consent to this reform, Louis alone opposed it, and he ordered the Marquis de Lavardin to continue to exercise his right; the latter entered Rome at the head of 800 men, whereupon the pope excommunicated him. Louis responded by seizing Avignon and Comtat Venaissin. Having thus given offence to the Catholic powers Louis

now proceeded to alienate the Protestant countries by his persecution. His Protestant subjects, since they had ceased to be a political party, had given no cause of complaint, but Louis on coming into power inaugurated a series of harsh measures against them, whereby they were excluded from public office and even from the professions; their children were taken and converted at seven years of age, and those who relapsed were banished. Colbert, in the interests of commerce, had protected them, but under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, of Père Lachaise and the Chancellor Le Tellier, persecution became more active. Louvois gave vent to his natural brutality, and those who carried out his orders were not slow to go beyond his instructions. The "dragonnades" did their work thoroughly; only Alsace was spared. In one day the whole of Pau was converted, and it took but a few months to carry out the same mission among the twenty-two thousand Protestants of Béarn.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).—The court was exultant. There seemed now no need for an Edict of Nantes: its revocation was obtained, and the reformed faith was forbidden throughout the French dominions. It proved very shortly to have been as impolitic an act as it was iniquitous. Many Protestants had already fled, and more now made their escape out of the land; in vain emigration was forbidden and the emigrants' property confiscated, the movement continued, to the injury of the nation as a whole, and especially to its industries and commerce. Among the emigrants it has been computed that there were at least 250,000, including some thousands of sailors and soldiers, some hundreds of officers. Considerable sums of money went with them, and they also carried the secret of their industries to other countries, where they founded manufactories. England, Germany, Holland and Switzerland profited at France's expense. Moreover, the Revocation was not effectual in putting a stop to Protestantism; the Calvinists of the Cevennes gave trouble to Louis several times during his reign. Protestant Europe was indignant, and in 1686 a new coalition against France was formed under the auspices of William of Orange. The emperor, certain states of the empire, Spain, Holland and Switzerland were parties to it. His alliance with James II was, however, some encouragement to Louis. The French king continued to provoke his European neighbours. On the death of the elector palatine in 1685, Louis laid claim to part of the Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law, the second duchess of Orleans, and caused further aggravation by insisting in 1688 on his right to nominate one of his favourites to the archbishopric of Cologne. The Germans, who thought they had had enough of the lily, rejected his candidate, and the pope elected the Prince Clement of Bavaria. Louis, in

revenge, seized Avignon, and declared war with the emperor and the empire. But at this moment the revolution took place in England and the conditions of the conflict underwent a change.

The War of the Palatinate (1688-97).—Louis XIV gave a magnificent reception to the dethroned monarch, but was not blind to the disastrous consequences of the revolution. England now joined the coalition, and Louis, aware that he could not fight against the whole of Europe, determined to act on the defensive on his eastern and Pyrenean frontiers. Thanks to Vauban, France was impenetrable on the side of Germany. As a further safeguard, Louis and Louvois ordered the destruction of the Palatinate by fire. Towns and villages—such famous towns even as Spire, Worms, Heidelberg, and Mannheim—along either bank of the Rhine, were given up to a systematic devastation. The policy was successful in so far that during the whole of this war nothing could be attempted by the enemy against Alsace and Lorraine. Louis set his hopes on the triumph of the Stuart cause, and was encouraged by the victory of Château-Renard over an English squadron in Bantry Bay. But James II was a weak reed to lean upon. He was entirely without military genius; and instead of listening to Louis's advice, which was to avoid pitched battles, and to profit by the devotion of the Irish, he listened to less wise tongues, the result being that he was defeated at the decisive battle of the Boyne. The cause of the Stuarts was lost, notwithstanding the naval victory gained by the French in the Channel over the English and Dutch fleets on the same day as the Boyne was fought. But so important was it to Louis that an ally of France should sit on the throne of England, that he made further sacrifices on behalf of James II, and a large fleet was prepared for an attack on England. The English and Dutch opposed it, and the battle of the Hague ended after brave fighting in the retreat of the French.

The continental war was more favourable for Louis XIV. The chief action was in Italy and the Low Countries. Luxembourg was victorious at Fleurus, at Steinkerque, and at Nerwinde; but, thanks to William of Orange's indomitable perseverance and cleverness in repairing his defeats, these successes bore no fruit. Other military operations, as the siege of Mons, and that of Namur, though carried through victoriously, had no effect whatever on the final issue of the war. The death of Louvois in 1691, and of General Luxembourg in 1695, deprived Louis of two of his chief props, and rendered the continuation of the war more dangerous. Villeroi, who succeeded Luxembourg, was vain and incapable, and allowed Namur to be retaken.

The Treaty of Ryswick (1697).—Louis now hoped to break up

the coalition by winning over the duke of Savoy to a peace. The latter was not remarkable for holding to his engagements; he had joined the coalition in view of certain advantages, but now did not hesitate to come to terms with Louis for the sake of greater ones, and the Treaty of Turin was signed between them. This defection, further successes of the French arms under Catinat, and the losses inflicted on English and Dutch commerce by French corsairs, and, finally, Louis's own conciliatory advances, decided the coalitionists to lay down their arms. By the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis restored to Spain the towns he had taken, abolished the protective tariff as regarded Dutch commodities, and gave back to the emperor and the empire the territories that he had occupied by virtue of the decrees of the *Chambres de Réunion*, with the exception of the town of Strasburg, which was given over finally to France; he further re-established the duke of Lorraine.

Louis had agreed to these terms rather as the vanquished than the victor, the explanation lying in the fact that the king of Spain was dying and that France was exhausted. The question of the succession to the Spanish throne could not be re-opened with Europe in arms against France, for Louis had no means left to uphold his cause against the allies.

The state of France at this time was deplorable, owing partly to the continual levying of men for the army, and the constant passage of armed men through the country and the enforced billeting of the same; partly to the increased taxation, and the loss of industries incurred by the emigration of the Protestants. A tenth part of the people was reduced to beggary. "France," to quote Voltaire, describing the country so victorious abroad and so miserable within, "was dying of poverty to the chanting of *Te Deums*."

War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14).—The extinction of the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs set European statecraft in activity. The emperor laid claim to the Spanish crown, by right of kinship, for his second son Charles; Louis XIV, in spite of his mother and wife having renounced their claims to the succession, for his nephew, Philip of Anjou. A treaty for the division of the inheritance, prepared by William III, in order to preserve the balance of power, was rejected; the electoral prince of Bavaria, who had been thereupon nominated heir to the throne, died; whereupon Charles II yielded to French diplomacy, and named Philip of Anjou as his successor. But the emperor on the death of the king took up arms in defence of his claims. He found allies in Frederick III, the Elector of Hanover, and in William III of England. Both king and people of this country were willing to go to war with France, for Louis XIV had offended them by his opposition to the Act of the Protestant Succession,

and Anne's Whig ministry adopted a similar policy. Bavaria, Cologne, Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Mantua and Savoy joined with France. But the two great generals of the allies, Marlborough and Eugène, robbed France of her former laurels. The former commanded in the Netherlands; Eugène opened the campaign in Italy with brilliant victories over Catinat and Villeroi; only on the Rhine did the French, under Villars, drive back the imperial troops under Ludwig of Baden. The Elector of Bavaria failed to get possession of the Tyrol, and to join forces with Vendôme, who was marching from Italy; and finally, Marlborough and Eugène, after storming Schellenberg together, fought and won the decisive battle of Höchstädt over Marshal Tallard, thereby delivering the whole of South Germany from the French, and punishing Bavaria. The English, meanwhile, were successful in capturing the Spanish fleet in Vigo harbour and taking Gibraltar. The victory, however, at Almanza over the combined forces of England and the Netherlands set the crown afresh on Philip of Anjou's head. Joseph I carried on the war with even more zeal than his father Leopold. He annihilated the Bavarian forces at Sendling, but Marlborough checked the French from entering Holland at Ramillies; Eugène, strengthened by the Brandenburgers, drove the French out of Italy at the battle of Turin; and he and Marlborough defeated the enemy at Oudenarde and at Malplaquet. Charles II made his entry into Madrid. These reverses forced Louis XIV himself to offer terms, and even humiliating ones: renunciation of his claim to the Spanish throne, the surrender of Alsace, Strasburg, Franche-Comté, and the bishoprics in Lorraine. The allies also demanded that he should assist them in driving out his nephew; but just now a court intrigue brought about the fall of the Whigs in England, and at the same time Joseph I died and was succeeded by his brother. The Tory minister, Bolingbroke, hastened to conclude peace with France, and the Netherlands, Portugal, Savoy, and Prussia acceded to the Treaty of Utrecht. Philip V retained possession of Spain, and gave up Gibraltar and Minorca; the lands round Hudson's Bay were given to France, New Scotland and Newfoundland to England; Savoy received Sicily as a kingdom, Prussia the upper division of Guelders, Nuremberg, and the recognition of its kingly dignity. The emperor also concluded a peace at Rastall, whereby he received the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, Mantua, and Sardinia. France paid for her wars under Louis XIV by exhaustion of her treasury and frightful loss of men.

Death of the King (1715).—Louis XIV died soon after the Treaty of Utrecht, and left France debt-burdened and the nation famished. The dauphin, the dauphiness, and two grandchildren of Louis having died, the nearest heir to the crown of France was a great-grandson

of the Grand Monarch, a child of five, who ascended the throne as Louis XV.

Louis XV (1715-74).—With Louis XIV the supremacy of the House of Bourbon had passed away for ever. Louis XIV had been styled “the best actor of *majesty* that ever filled a throne,” but he was a master of king-craft, and his reign was the most brilliant in French history. His great-grandson, Louis XV, had something of the despot in him, but he possessed none of the virtues of a despot. “During the reign of Louis XV France swiftly descended towards the abyss of the Revolution.”

Chapter X

FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA— WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

The Seven Years' War—Origin of the House of Hohenzollern—The Great Elector—Frederick I—Frederick William I—Prussia in 1740—Frederick II—The Decay of Austria—The Pragmatic Sanction—The Polish War of Succession—War of the Austrian Succession—Maria Theresa—The Seven Years' War.

THE House of Hohenzollern, which originated in Swabia, appears for the first time in history in the twelfth century. It was then, as at the present day, divided into two branches; the elder branch remained in obscurity in Swabia until it finally ceded its petty principality to the Prussian crown. The younger branch, thanks to the ability of the burgrave Frederick IV, took its place in the territorial oligarchy as real mistress of the holy empire.

Acquisition of Brandenburg (1417)—Commencement of the Hohenzollern Power.—In reward for his services the Emperor Sigismund bestowed on Frederick IV the administration of the Marche of Brandenburg (1411), and finally the dignity of elector of that province.

Brandenburg, like the archduchy of Austria, had been established on the confines of the Germanic and Slav territory. The new elector, known thenceforward as Frederick I, had to sustain a fierce struggle against ambitious neighbours or rebellious vassals. After his death a similar struggle was continued by his sons. One of them, Albert, surnamed Achilles for his valour, and Ulysses for his prudence, gave proof of the latter quality by promulgating a decree in 1473, by which the margraviat was made for ever indivisible. The eldest son was to inherit the whole territory, and thus the Hohenzollerns escaped the danger of indefinite divisions such as have stunted so many princely dynasties of Germany.

Secularization of Prussia (1525)—Its Reunion and the Margraviat (1618).—The electors of Brandenburg played a very obscure rôle during the sixteenth century; the only two facts of importance in their history are their adherence to Protestantism and the secularization of Prussia. The country had been conquered and colonized by the Order of the Teutonic Knights; in 1525 the Grand Master Albert

of Brandenburg, of the younger branch of the Hohenzollerns, having embraced Lutheranism, secularized Prussia and declared himself hereditary duke under the suzerainty of the king of Poland. He was succeeded by his son, who, having no direct heir, was succeeded by his son-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg (1618).

The House of Brandenburg was, however, still too weak to adopt an independent policy; during the Thirty Years' War the vacillations of the elector George William brought the greatest disasters upon his States. His towns were devastated, his provinces ruined and depopled. In 1640 Berlin had a population of 6,000 inhabitants only.

The Great Elector (1640-88).—Fortunately for the Hohenzollern House the crown passed into the hands of Frederick William I, justly named the Great Elector. His policy, nearly always successful, gained for him valuable acquisitions of territory, and an influence in the empire, and even in Europe, unknown to his predecessors. By the Treaty of Westphalia he acquired the best part of Pomerania, and the secularized domains of the archbishopric of Halberstadt, Cammin and Minden. In 1666 he further acquired the duchy of Cleves, and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg. He thus became the most powerful prince in Northern Germany. At the same time he profited by the embarrassments of the king of Poland to throw off his allegiance, and of the war in Holland to defy Louis XIV. Defeated in the west by Turenne he was victorious in the north over the Swedes, where he won the battle of Fehrbellin. The Peace of Minegüe put an end to his victories. Louis XIV insisted upon the restoration of the territories seized from his allies; the Great Elector tried to resist, but abandoned by the emperor he was compelled to give way, and subscribe to the Treaty of Saint-Germain. He had, however, for the moment ruined the military prestige of Sweden, and made his dynasty known to all Europe.

It was the ambition of the Great Elector to sweep away the obstacles which hindered the free exercise of the electoral authority. He was not unsuccessful; the provincial States were reduced to impotency, the uncultivated provinces were peopled with German and Dutch labourers, the whole resources of the State developed. Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he welcomed the fugitive Protestants and began to assume the rôle of the head of Protestantism.

Foundation of the Kingdom of Prussia (1701)—*Frederick I* (1688-1713).—Frederick, son of the Great Elector, was far from inheriting his father's genius; in fact, his love of magnificence and the splendour of his court earned for him the surname of Frederick the Fop. The great event of his reign was the foundation of the kingdom of Prussia. By a treaty signed November 16, 1700, he received the title of

King of Prussia from the emperor in reward for his support during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Leopold I imagined that this was an unimportant concession to the elector, it being stipulated that the new king was a sovereign in Prussia only, but was to recognize the imperial suzerainty for his German States ; but in thus raising the House of Brandenburg above all the German principalities, the emperor had created a dangerous rival to the Austrian House.

Frederick William I (1713-41).—Frederick I died before his royal position was recognized by Europe, but his son, Frederick William I, received this satisfaction from the Congress of Utrecht the very year of his father's death. He acquired at the same time part of the province of Gueldre in compensation for the principality of Orange which he should have inherited at the death of William III, but which Louis XIV had reunited to France.

Frederick William by his eccentric character, his ignorance, coarseness, and sordid avarice became the butt of the mocking wit of his contemporaries. He was surnamed by some the King-Sergeant, and by George II of England, "my brother the corporal." His one great passion was his soldiers, his one aim the organization of a strong army and the increase of his treasure. His principles of economy were only broken when there was question of improving his army. The shameful poverty of the ambassadors of the court of Berlin, according to Macaulay, caused the laughter of the foreign capitals ; the royal princes and princesses had barely sufficient to satisfy their hunger, but if there was question of recruiting a man of tall stature, Frederick gave no further thought to money.

In spite of this he was peaceably disposed, he was too fond of his "dear children in blue," to risk their lives in battle, besides which he had a conscientious respect for the property of others. If he joined in the coalition against Charles XII it was after much hesitation, and because he was constrained to take this course by the obstinacy of the Swedish king. By this short war he acquired Stettin and the whole of Pomerania south of the Peene. Stralsund, the Islands of Rügen, Wollin and Usedom were the only possessions left to the Swedes in Germany after the Treaty of Oliva (1720).

Frederick William had a contempt for arts and artists, and drove from his kingdom all the painters and sculptors brought in by his father. He was indignant to see his son playing the flute and writing verses. In fact, the Crown Prince endeavoured to escape with an officer from the hated yoke, but the attempt was frustrated ; harmony was, however, restored between father and son before the former died in 1740.

Prussia in 1740.—At the accession of Frederick II the kingdom

of Prussia was composed of three groups of States stretching between the Niemen and Rhine. The Elbe State comprised Brandenburg, Pomerania, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt, and was separated from the Eastern State, the kingdom of Prussia, by Polish Prussia and the inferior Valley of the Vistula ; the Western State was comprised of isolated dominions in the basins of the Weser, the Ems and the Rhine.

All the countries were prosperous, the administration regular, the population habituated to passive obedience ; the army, admirably disciplined, counted 80,000 men, and the war chest contained nine million crowns.

Frederick II (1740-86).—Frederick II, surnamed in history the Great, and by the Prussians the Unique, seized the reins of power with a firm hand, and never abandoned them for one day during the forty-six years of his reign. He had inherited his father's love of order, economy, and the army, but lacked his honesty. He possessed, however, genius which his father had never shown. His passion for music and poetry never interfered with his interests. Voltaire and the French philosophers whom he had won by flattery, presented him to the world as a new Marcus Aurelius, but his sole aim was success. "As to dominions, take what you can ; you are only wrong when you are compelled to make restitution," this was his advice to his successor ; such unscrupulous ambition was a danger to his neighbours.

The Decay of Austria in the Eighteenth Century.—In spite of appearances, the old Hapsburg Empire did not possess the vigour of the Hohenzollern monarchy. Weakened and humiliated by the Treaty of Westphalia, it had made very few durable or profitable conquests. Servia and Wallachia, partly conquered by Prince Eugen, were restored to the Turks by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) ; Naples and Sicily, acquired by the Treaty of Utrecht, were exposed almost without defence to the attacks of Spain, being restored to her in 1735 by the Treaty of Vienna. Belgium was difficult to defend against the envy of Spain and Savoy, and Milan against the ambition of France. Hungary, depopled by continuous wars against the Turks, was impatient of the violation of her natural privileges ; the other provinces languished under a reactionary administration ; the army was disorganized, and the finances in confusion.

The Pragmatic Sanction.—The war undertaken by the Emperor Charles VI in conjunction with the Venetians against the Turks, left Austria by the Peace of Passarowitz, after Eugène's victories at Peterwardein and Belgrade, in possession of Wallachia as far as Aluta, of Banats, Serbia and Croatia. Charles VI was now chiefly concerned with the Pragmatic Sanction, which secured the inheritance of the Austrian throne to his eldest daughter Maria Theresa. His

external policy at this time was guided by his wish to have the guarantee of the other Powers for the maintenance of this arrangement. Elizabeth of Parma, the second wife of Philip V of Spain, encouraged by her minister Alberoni, made a sudden attack on Sardinia and Sicily, wishing to obtain them for her son, whereupon the emperor, in order to safeguard the conditions of the Utrecht Treaty, formed the quadruple alliance with England, France and the Netherlands. The Spanish fleet and Alberoni being defeated at Cape Passaro, the Peace of Vienna was concluded, by which, in return for the promise to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles VI undertook to leave the reversion of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza to the infant Don Carlos, and exchanged Savoy and Sicily for Sardinia.

The War of the Polish Succession.—A fresh disturbance of the peace arose after the death of Augustus the Strong regarding the Polish throne. In this country the *liberum veto* of the nobles and the privileges of the communities undermined all kingly authority and order; the nobles themselves had degenerated owing to their luxurious living, while the persecutions of the Jesuits, the exclusion of dissenters from the Diet, and the outbreak of fanaticism as at Thorn, made ready the way for the interference of the foreigner. Augustus' son, Augustus III, in return for his acknowledgment of the Pragmatic Sanction, was supported by Austria and Russia, in opposition to the Tsarina Anna's favourite, Biron, who had been promised Courland, and he was further emboldened to set up his claim in opposition to the legitimately chosen successor, Stanislaus Lesczinsky. The young king of France, Louis XV, who had married Maria Lesczinsky, rose in arms on behalf of his father-in-law, and Spain and Sardinia seized the opportunity of attacking the emperor, and the latter consented at the Peace of Vienna to the arrangement that Stanislaus should be compensated for the loss of the Polish throne by the ceding to him of Lorraine, which at his death should fall to France, while Maria Theresa's husband, Duke Franz Stephan of Lorraine, was to have Tuscany, and the Infant Don Carlos Naples and Sicily. Austria was impoverished not only by these arrangements, but by the disastrous war she had engaged in with the Turks, in hopes of making good her losses in Italy, at the close of which she had entered into the shameful Peace of Belgrade, whereby Eugène's conquests were in great part lost again. Moreover, under the influence of the clergy, as well as of the Slav, Hungarian and Italian nationalities, Austria separated itself more and more from the rest of Germany.

Conquest of Silesia (1740)—War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48).—No sooner, however, was Charles dead than several princes laid claim to portions of Maria Theresa's territories. Among the

claimants was Frederick of Prussia, who set up a claim to Silesia. The King of Prussia had no illusion upon the reality of the rights he had put forward to a part of Silesia, he admits as much in his memoirs, but the very day the negotiations were opened at Vienna he crossed the frontier of Silesia, and while they were in progress he completed the occupation of that province. At the same time with curious effrontery he offered his friendship and assistance to Maria Theresa and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, against the enemies of the House of Austria, in return for which he expected them to cede to him the duchy of Silesia. Maria Theresa replied with dignity that she defended her subjects, but did not sell them. She sent an army to retake Silesia, but it was defeated at the battle of Molivitz by Marshal Schwerin, April 1741. The war in Silesia was the signal for a European war.

Policy of France—Treaty of Nymphenburg (1741).—Frederick II, when he engaged in war, foresaw that France would not delay in declaring against Austria. At Versailles the peaceful policy of Fleury was openly combated by the warlike Count de Belle-Isle. According to him it was necessary to return to the time-honoured policy of France to complete the work of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV, by depriving Austria of her imperial crown, and dividing her dominions. England was impotent on the Continent, and Russia could be engaged in a war with Sweden. Belle-Isle's plans were received with enthusiasm, supported as he was by the favourite, Madame de Mailly; he gained the approval of the king, and the old cardinal himself had to give way. A treaty was signed at Nymphenburg with Bavaria, Spain, Sardinia, and Saxony for the division of the Austrian States, a flagrant breach of the Treaty of Vienna.

England's Policy.—England's great ambition was naval supremacy; in spite of the privileges obtained by the Treaty of Utrecht, she was incensed by Spain's refusal to throw open the rich market of America. The Spanish cruisers dispatched to prevent the illicit trade carried on by Englishmen caused an outbreak of wrath in England, which the peaceful Walpole was unable to check, and war was declared in 1739.

The English did not gain from this iniquitous war all the advantages they expected. Admiral Vernon took and pillaged Porto-Bello, but was defeated at Carthagen. The French dispatched thirty vessels to the assistance of Spain, Europe seemed on the eve of a great naval war, when the War of the Austrian Succession broke out.

It was to England's advantage to support Austria; the English were therefore unanimous in declaring for Maria Theresa.

Maria Theresa.—Maria Theresa was then twenty-three, she

possessed all the necessary qualities of a sovereign, added to the most seductive womanly charms.

She was recognized throughout the provinces without opposition, but also without enthusiasm; the absolutism of the court of Vienna had made many malcontents. She also lacked men and funds at the moment when a formidable coalition was being formed against her.

French in Bavaria.—Through bad generalship the French were unsuccessful in Austria; instead of the whole force of 100,000 men pushing forward to Vienna, the army was divided into two sections. The one under Belle-Isle joined the elector of Bavaria, occupied Lintz, and threatened Vienna. Meanwhile Frederick II penetrated into Moravia, and the elector of Saxony into Bohemia. The position of Maria Theresa seemed hopeless, but her energy, the devotion of her subjects, and the mistakes of her enemies saved her.

Maria Theresa at the Diet of Presburg—Hungarian Devotion.—Still weak from her confinement, Maria Theresa proceeded to Hungary, where she re-established the national privileges abolished by her father. At the first session of the Diet in a pathetic speech she besought the people to defend her rights and their own independence, and when she appeared with her infant in her arms, the enthusiasm of the Hungarians knew no bounds. "We will die for our Queen Maria Theresa," they cried. Having found an army in Hungary, England supplied the funds which the young queen lacked.

The French in Bohemia.—The misunderstandings of the allies was also in the queen's favour. Frederick II, satisfied with Silesia, had suspended hostilities, and was ready to listen to the overtures suggested by England. The French-Bavarian army, masters of Lintz, dared not advance upon Vienna, but marched northward to Bohemia. The Austrian forces, profiting by this hesitation, instantly came down upon Lintz and besieged the 15,000 men left under the command of Ségur. It was only the daring courage of Maurice de Saxe and Lieutenant-Colonel Chevert that saved the French and enabled them to seize Prague, November 1741. A few months later the elector of Bavaria, thanks to French support, was elected emperor under the title of Charles VII.

Retreat of Prague (1742).—The position of the French, however, became daily more critical; Lord Carteret, successor to Walpole, hastened to send £500,000 to the queen, Maria Theresa; meanwhile Saxony, Sardinia, and Prussia withdrew from the war. After her victory at Czaslau, Frederick II signed the Peace of Breslau with the queen, which left him Silesia (1742).

Maria Theresa was thus able to concentrate her forces on Bavaria and Bohemia. Ségur had been compelled to capitulate at Lintz ; reduced to 25,000 men, the French-Bavarian army was shut into Prague ; Marlborough, hastening to their assistance, was compelled to withdraw before the Austrian army, his instructions being that he was not to give battle. Such was the result of the pusillanimous and vacillating policy of Fleury ; the peaceable old man never lost hope of peace, and was ever anxious to renew negotiations, the only result being that he became the laughing-stock of Europe. Belle-Isle, however, managed to evade the Austrians and evacuate Prague, retreating first to Egra and then into the Palatinate. But this retreat was almost as disastrous as a defeat, 1,200 men dying of cold and hunger.

Chevert had been left at Prague with the sick ; called upon to surrender, he threatened to destroy himself and the town unless he was allowed an honourable capitulation. He was allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Defeat of Dettingen.—In 1743, Marshal Noailles penetrated into Germany and found himself confronted by the Anglo-Hanoverian army commanded by George II and his son the Duke of Cumberland. Surrounded on all sides in the Dettingen pass, the English army seemed lost, but Grammont, impatient to fight, changed his position, and thus enabled the English after a fierce struggle to force a passage and continue their march. Maria Theresa followed up her advantages by the Treaty of Worms, which strengthened her alliance with England, Sardinia, Saxony and Russia, (1744). Frederick II, frightened of losing Silesia, broke the Treaty of Breslau and signed a new league with Charles VII and Louis XV.

The French, anxious to bring the war to a conclusion, prepared two fleets, one to help the Spaniards, another to assist the Stuarts ; both were defeated, then only was war between England and France openly declared.

Maurice de Saxe, the most able of the French generals, was dispatched with an army of 120,000 men to invade the Low Countries ; he was accompanied by the king himself. Several Flemish towns had already been taken when news came that an Austrian army, under command of the Duke of Lorraine, had invaded Alsace. Louis XV and Noailles, with part of the army, hastened to its assistance, but the king fell ill at Metz, his life at one time being despaired of.

The death of the Emperor Charles VII and the defection of the new elector of Bavaria, who hastened to sign the Treaty of Fussen with Maria Theresa, should have put an end to the war, but the French overtures of peace were rejected, and Louis XV hastened once

more to the Low Countries to take part in the siege of Tournay. To save this town the Duke of Cumberland offered battle at Fontenoy, which ended in the defeat of the English with a loss of 6,000 men (1745).

Scarcely had the English recovered from their defeat than Charles Edward the Pretender landed in the Hebrides. The Scottish Jacobites rallied to his standard, and after winning the battles of Preston Pans and Falkirk, he advanced as far as Derby. Unfortunately France was unable to offer any assistance, and the English Jacobites were afraid of compromising themselves, so that the Pretender was compelled to retreat to Scotland, pursued by the Duke of Cumberland. The battle of Culloden put an end to the Pretender's hopes, and it was with difficulty that he escaped to France (1746).

The first defection of Frederick II caused the French to lose Germany, the second lost them Italy. Thirty thousand Austrians joined the Piedmontese, fought the French at Plaisance, and drove them over the Alps. With the assistance of the English they also besieged Toulon, but were recalled by the revolt of Genoa. Maurice de Saxe pursued his successes in the Low Countries; by 1747 he had occupied the whole of Belgium, and begun an attack on Holland.

In the naval war the French forces were by no means equal to the English, who took from them Louisburg and Cape Breton Island, but in the Indian Ocean, thanks to the military genius of La Bourdonnais and Dupleix, the French arms were more successful. Dupleix, besieged in Pondicherry after the departure of the French fleet, offered such a gallant defence, that the English were compelled to raise the siege (1748).

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).—A treaty was finally signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which stipulated for the restitution of all conquests. France, after conquering Madras from the English, the Low Countries from Austria, Dutch Flanders from the Dutch, Savoy and Nice from the king of Sardinia, received in exchange for all these the restitution of Louisburg and Cape Breton. The war had saved the Austrian monarchy, preserved the equilibrium of the Continent, which was to the advantage of England, and given a rich province to Prussia.

The Seven Years' War (1756–63).—The peace which followed the War of the Austrian Succession lasted eight years. Frederick knew that Maria Theresa was anxious to get back Silesia—and in the expectation of a new war the king of Prussia was busy in perfecting his army. Through her minister Kaunitz, Maria Theresa succeeded in inducing the court of Versailles to unite itself with Austria against Prussia. She even wrote herself to the all-powerful mistress of Louis XV, the

Marquise Pompadour, to win her over to Austria's interests. The Franco-Austrian Alliance was soon joined by Russia, Sweden and Saxony. Frederick, informed of all the plots, anticipated events by suddenly falling upon Saxony and by invading Bohemia. He endeavoured to meet his enemies separately, and fought the famous battles of Rossbach, Leuthen and Zorndorf, where he gained brilliant victories. Europe admired his military skill and genius, and called him the "Great." England, however, who had been on Frederick's side, abandoned him, and fortune seemed to desert the warlike king. Frederick suffered a defeat at Kunnersdorf (1759), and the Russian armies entering Berlin the following year, committed terrible atrocities. The great Prussian king was only saved from his critical position by the sudden death of Elizabeth of Russia, his implacable enemy, "La Catin du Nord," as he styled her, and by the accession to the throne of Russia of Peter IV, his ardent admirer. England and France were also weary of war, and in 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed and soon afterwards another between Austria and Prussia at Hubertsburg. Prussia had by this war gained a preponderating position in Europe.

After the conclusion of peace Frederick the Great devoted his efforts to the internal improvement of his kingdom. The renewal of the army, as a main pillar of support for the Prussian power, the filling of the treasury, the revival of commerce and agriculture, the rebuilding of the burnt towns, assistance given to impoverished provinces, the founding of the bridges over the Oder, Warthe and Netze, the digging of canals, and preparation of a code of land laws, were beneficent acts which set Frederick up as an example to Europe. German poetry, although neglected and ignored by the French-bred king, nevertheless prepared a great intellectual development among the German people in the midst of their political downfall. Even Maria Theresa learned from her opponent that the well-being and power of the country went hand in hand. Joseph II endeavoured without success to restore the old régime, but as the empire, now it was no longer the bulwark of defence against the Turks and the French had lost the last semblance of a national body, the old forms of government only hindered the development of the nation. Joseph harboured the idea of making up to Austria for the loss of Silesia at the cost of Bavaria, and to the general alarm he and the emperor began to quarrel as to the nomination of an elector. Through the intervention, however, of the Russians and French, there was no blood shed and the dispute was ended by the Peace of Teschen. On the death of Maria Theresa, Joseph II renewed his plan of getting the Elector Karl Theodor to consent to the exchange of Bavaria for Belgium, but again Frederick stepped in, and formed a league with

Hanover and Saxony and other smaller States for the preservation of the integrity of the empire, and in this league of German princes we have the first indication of a growth of national consciousness among the Germans. The contemporaneous effort on the part of the archbishops of the Rhine to found a national church came to nothing on account of the opposition of the clergy. Joseph II, when once his mother was dead and he had the power in his own hands, set to work zealously to improve the condition of his subjects, to relieve the burden on the land, to do away with torture and to introduce equality in law ; the Edict of Toleration and the appropriation of seven hundred monasteries for the purposes of education were carried through in spite of a visit from the pope himself. But Joseph II was too hasty in enforcing his reforms, and met with opposition in many quarters instead of thanks. Hungary, already embittered, threatened revolt ; in Belgium, where the clergy and the national party were hand and glove, rebellion broke out openly, and the country declared itself independent. The sorrow at this misunderstanding of his good intentions, and the disaster to the Austrian arms in the war with Turkey, undertaken in conjunction with Russia, shortened the emperor's life ; his brother, Leopold II, calmed the general discontent by repealing all the measures of reform.

In Prussia, Frederick the Great's brave but pleasure-loving nephew Friedrich William II and his favourites, Bischoffwerder and Wollner, under an outward semblance of strict orthodoxy, as prescribed by the Edict of Religion in 1788, allowed things to go to ruin with his riotous living and bad government, and the State was undermined. The army, on the contrary, became strengthened in the conviction of its invincible power, by the easily accomplished suppression of a revolt in the Netherlands against the hereditary stadtholder, the king's brother-in-law.

Chapter XI

RUSSIA UNDER THE ROMANOVS

Alexis, the First Tsar of the House of Romanov—Philaret—The Union with Little Russia
—The Raskol—The Successors of Alexis—Peter the Great.

IN 1589 the royal line established by Rurik ended, and a period of great confusion, known as the *Smutnoe Vremja*, or troublous times, marks Russian history. At last a prince of the house of Romanov ascended the throne.

The Romanovs were related to Ivan the Terrible, and the Zemsky Sobor assembled in February 1613, and elected Michael Feodorovich Romanov, a boy of sixteen, as Tsar of Russia. Michael's chief adviser was his father, the Patriarch Philaret, surnamed the "Russian Richelieu." The first Tsar of the House of Romanov had found the country on the brink of ruin and in a state of exhaustion. Bands of Cossacks under their *hetmans* marauded everywhere, and devastated the country. They were, however, soon vanquished, and gradually order was re-established in the administrative and economic spheres of Russia, and her relations with Western Europe, which had been interrupted, were renewed. Michael Romanov died in 1645, and was succeeded by his son Alexis (1645-76). Some historians have considered the reign of Alexis as an age of genius. "The reign of Alexis Michailovich," writes Rambaud, "may be summed up in three facts: the reaction against Poland and the union with Little Russia; the struggle between the Empire and the Cossacks; the first attempt at religious reform, and the growth of European influence." The Ukraine, or Little Russia, was united to the kingdom of Moscow in 1653—and the war with Poland ended successfully with the Peace of Androuszovo (1667). It was also during the reign of Alexis that the Patriarch Nikon ordered a complete revision of all church books, a measure which led to a schism within the ranks of the clergy. The schism is known as the Raskol, and its adherents as the Raskolniks. Alexis had been married twice, and he left three sons, Feodore, Ivan and Peter, and

one daughter, Sophia. Feodore succeeded his father on the throne of Russia, but on his death, in 1682, the question as to his successor occupied the Court. At last the partisans of Peter, the youngest son of Alexis, triumphed, and the young Prince was proclaimed Tsar. During his minority, the country was ruled first by Peter's mother, Natalia, and then by his sister Sophia.

Chapter XII

RUSSIA SINCE PETER THE GREAT—RUSSIA UNDER PETER THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Peter's Education—Wars with Sweden—Charles XII—Peter's Reforms—The Holy Synod—Peter's Successors—Catherine I—Elizabeth—Catherine II—Internal Government—Catherine's Reforms—Paul I.

PPETER I, or the Great, was the most famous ruler of Russia. He ascended the throne in 1696, and gained the admiration not only of his contemporaries, but also of future generations.

Peter was being educated, or rather the young prince educated himself, in Preobrashenskoe, on the river Jausa, where he lived with his mother. He was very fond of learning, but he had to find his own masters. For the most part he chose foreigners. They taught him mechanics, and directed his military and naval exercises. Among them were Franz Timmermann, who taught him the use of the astrolabe and the elements of geometry, and Karsten Brant. Peter surrounded himself with young men, whom he exercised in military drill, with the aid of foreign officers, and formed the regiment known as the *Poteshnye*, which exercised in Preobrashenskoe and Semenovskoe. These military companies are supposed to have formed the nucleus of the regiments of guards, the Preobrashenskoe and Semenovskoe. With Karsten Brant he undertook trips on the water. He was evidently forming plans for the establishment of a fleet. Peter was married in 1689, before the age of seventeen, to Eudokia Lopoukhina, for whom, however, he felt no love.

Sophia sent to a Convent.—It was with displeasure that Peter's sister Sophia watched Peter's progress towards the age when he would take over the government. She began to sign herself Tsaritzza of all the Russias, and again decided to rouse the Streltsi, commanded by her favourite Shaklovity. She even planned the assassination of Peter. The latter fled to the monastery of the Troitza, where he was followed by his wife and mother. Peter then sent an order to the Streltsi, commanding them to join him in Troitza, but Sophia for-

bade them to march. Patrick Gordon, who had arrived in Russia in 1661, and was then a general, came to his aid, and many other officers followed his example. Peter entered Moscow in triumph, Shaklovity was tortured and beheaded, Golitzin banished to Poustozersk with his son, and Sophia sent to the Novodyevitshy Monastyr, or Convent where she died after fifteen years' seclusion. Peter was now sole ruler, although his brother Ivan's name continued to figure on all ukases until he died in 1696.

The Campaign of Azov and Travels Abroad.—The Tsar surrounded himself with friends of his own choice, among whom Patrick Gordon and the Swiss Lefort enjoyed his special confidence at this time. The Tsar was wont to indulge in all-night carousals. Peter's participation in government matters was not marked by any keenness of interest at first; he confined himself to the preparation of means for a successful foreign policy. His chief aims were the formation of an army and a fleet. But the Tsar's attention was soon directed to the South, to the Black and Azov Seas, where the wars with the Turks had not yet come to an end. Shipbuilders were brought from Holland, and the Tsar himself assisted them in the construction of vessels. The Russian ruler conceived so marked an admiration for the Netherlands that he adopted the Dutch colours (in different order), and white-blue-red are still the colours displayed on Russian commercial flags, whilst the national flag consists of black-orange-white. It was not until 1695 that Peter marched against the Turks and laid siege to Azov. His first campaign was a failure, but the fortress was nevertheless taken the following year, and the Tsar marched triumphantly into Moscow. In the year following Peter left Russia on his travels. He had long wished to see Europe for himself, so as to become acquainted with Western customs, manners, civilization and culture, and he carried out his plan in spite of the discontent of the reactionary party. Lefort was at the head of the expedition, which the Tsar accompanied in the capacity of a private nobleman. Having entrusted the government to a council of boyarins, Peter left Russia in March. He first went to Riga, where he was refused permission to visit the fortifications. At Königsberg he was well received, and in Hanover he met Sophie Charlotte, the future queen of Prussia, who has left an interesting description of the Tsar in her memoirs. Peter did not stay long in any of the seaports, he was too anxious to see Holland. There, in order to learn the art of shipbuilding, he worked in the dockyards as a common workman, under the name of Peter Mikhailov, first in Saardem and then in Amsterdam. He not only learned shipbuilding, but became efficient in many handicrafts, and obtained a certificate from Gerrit Klaas Pool, the ship constructor for the Dutch East India

Company. He also visited many factories and laboratories, and took the keenest interest in everything relating to commerce and industry. Afterwards he visited England. "He spent some few days in the City of London," says Perry, "and had several interviews with the king, her Royal Highness the then Princess Anne of Denmark, and many of the English nobility; but was more particularly and above all, taken with the conversation of the then Marquis of Carmarthen, who complied with him in his humour, and assisted him in his pursuit after the knowledge of shipping, and would row and sail with him upon the water, which was his delight; of which obligations and kindness of my Lord Marquis to him, I have many times since heard him speak with great affection; as indeed he often does of England in general, and what he observed here. And I have often heard him say, that he designs to take a turn hither again, when he has peace settled in his own country. And has often declared to his lords, when he has been a little merry, that he thinks it a much happier life to be an Admiral in England, than Tsar in Russia." During his stay in England Peter lived at Deptford, where Mr. Evelyn's house had been taken for him. A door at the back opened into the king's yard, where Peter studied English methods of ship-building. Peter stayed in England for three months, and on the departure King William gave him leave to take such of his subjects into his service as he should have occasion for. When Peter left England he engaged a few Englishmen, among them Captain Perry. He passed through Holland, had an interview with the emperor in Vienna, and was about to proceed to Venice when news from Moscow reached him. The Streltsi had again revolted. Peter travelled at once to Moscow. The ringleaders were hanged, and many others sent to Siberia. The Streltsi were entirely suppressed a few years afterwards.

The Revolt of the Cossacks and the War with Sweden.—It was imperative that Russia should gain a sea-coast in the West, a port on the Baltic, and "open a window upon Europe." For this purpose Peter waged a long war against Sweden, which lasted over twenty years. A secret alliance was concluded between Peter and the Danish and Polish kings, by which the Polish king, Augustus, was to invade Livonia, whilst the Russians were to seize Ingria and Corelia. The alliance was due to the indefatigable labours of Patkul, a Livonian nobleman discontented with the Swedish Government. The war began in 1700, but the young Swedish king, Charles XII, who only relied upon "God, his sword, and the love of his people" as his sole allies, defeated the Danes, who were compelled to ask for peace, and hastened into Livonia, and thence against the Russians, who were besieging Narva. The Russians were completely defeated.

The Swedish king, great warrior as he was, did not take advantage of his victory.

Peter made the most of Charles's lack of political insight and waste of time in Poland by reorganizing his army and making good his losses. Sheremetev, Peter's general, defeated the Swedes under Shlippenbach, and took possession of the eastern part of Livonia, where the Russians committed many atrocities. The Tsar himself took Ingria and the Swedish fortress Noteburg on the Neva. Peter thus gained a firm footing on the Baltic, and the name of Noteburg was changed to Schlüsselburg.¹ On one of the islands where the Neva discharges itself into the Baltic he laid the foundations of a new town, St. Petersburg (1703). The Tsar himself superintended the works, living the while in a small house. The work began with a fortress, and a church in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Mazeppa and the Battle of Poltava.—In 1708 the Tsar received the news of the treason of Mazeppa, the hetman of the Zaporozhy Cossacks. Mazeppa, anxious to shake off the yoke of Moscow, entered into negotiations with Stanislaus Lesczinsky. The General-Judge Kotshoubey, with whose daughter the hetman stood in romantic relations, denounced Mazeppa, but Peter was convinced of the latter's fidelity, and punished his traducers. Charles, nevertheless, when he entered the Ukraine, was joined by Mazeppa. Little Russia, however, did not rise. Menshikov stormed and sacked Baturin, Mazeppa's capital, a new hetman was appointed, and Mazeppa excommunicated. Charles, in spite of the wretched state of his army, and notwithstanding the failure of his hopes, marched on and met the Russians, led by the Tsar, under the walls of Poltava, where he suffered a complete defeat. The Swedes were routed, about 10,000 men were killed and 3,000 made prisoners. Charles, who had been wounded in the leg, could not personally direct the military operations. He succeeded, however, in escaping, with Mazeppa and a few hundred soldiers into Turkey. The battle of Poltava marks a turning-point in the history of Peter and of Russia. Charles fell from his pedestal, and Sweden lost her prestige, while Russia suddenly became a mighty power in Europe. Peter's ambitions were now fulfilled. Russia was firmly established on the Baltic, and Riga, Reval, and Vyborg passed into his possession. He could now gaze triumphantly from the window which he had opened upon Europe.

The Treaty of Nystadt.—The battle of Poltava gained for Peter considerable influence in Europe. Charles fled to Bender with Mazeppa. The latter expired a few months afterwards, but the Swedish king

¹ Peter named this town Schlüsselburg from the German word *Schlüssel*, or key, this fortress being a key opening the Baltic to Russia.

persuaded the Sultan to declare war against Russia. Peter was promised help by the hospodars of Moldavia and Valachia, but he was only joined by Kantemir, the hospodar of Moldavia. On the banks of the Pruth, Peter, surrounded by an immense Turkish army, found himself in a critical position. He opened negotiations with the Vizier and concluded a treaty, making considerable concessions to Turkey (1711) and giving back Azov. In 1721, the Treaty of Nystadt was concluded, by which Sweden ceded to Russia the possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland. In this year Peter adopted the title of Emperor of all the Russias. In the following year he was engaged in a war against the Shah of Persia, and by the treaty of 1723 gained several districts on the Caspian. In 1717 he had made another tour in Europe, visiting Paris, where he was received with great ceremony.

Peter's Reforms.—Peter first made acquaintance with Western customs and institutions in the German colony in Moscow. He then travelled westward, and immediately on his return directed his attention to the dress and outward appearance of his subjects. The Asiatic garments, the long caftan, had to give way to German attire. Beards, which the Russians had hitherto considered as sacred, were to be shaved, although Patriarch Adrian declared that without a beard a man did not look human, but had the appearance of a cat or a dog, and only those who wished to be confounded with cats and dogs could think of shaving. A certain tax had to be paid for the privilege of wearing one. Among Peter's social reforms the emancipation of women was one of the most important. Russian women had been kept secluded for centuries. Peter broke the doors of the *terem* and instituted his *assemblies*, where the sexes met, danced and conversed. He introduced the women into the life of the salon, and to the manners of Western Europe, which the many foreigners whom he had invited taught to his barbaric subjects. Peter also established a new conception of nobility, based upon the service of the Tsar.

Holy Synod.—Among those who opposed Peter's reforms, the clergy, in particular, expressed dissatisfaction with the "German Tsar." Peter therefore abolished the patriarchate. After the death of Adrian, in 1700, he appointed Iavorsky as the superintendent of the patriarchal throne. In 1721 he issued the *Reglement*, or Regulation, of the Church, in the drawing up of which he was assisted by Theopan Prokopovich. This edict abolished the patriarchate and instituted the Holy Synod.

Always borrowing from the West, learning and applying his acquired knowledge in Russia, Peter not only Europeanized his army

and created a navy, but also founded schools and colleges, museums and libraries. The Bible was translated into Russian and sold at popular prices. Artists were invited from abroad, and Russians were sent to the West to study. In 1724 the Tsar established in St. Petersburg the Academy of Sciences, the first members of which were foreigners. The Slavonic alphabet was abandoned and replaced by the new Russian alphabet. The old Slavonic, however, remained in use in the Church.

Catherine I.—Peter left an empire, a throne, an army and a navy, but no successor. For nearly a century Russia was destined to be ruled by women and governed by their favourites. Immediately after the death of the Tsar the court divided into two parties. The enemies of reform rallied round Peter, son of the unhappy Alexis, and his grandmother, Eudokia. Others, however, sided with Catherine, Peter's widow. Peter had solemnly crowned her empress of Russia in 1723, and her partisans now claimed the imperial crown for her. With the aid of Menshikov, Prokopovich, the president of the Synod, and especially the guards whom she won to her favour, Catherine was proclaimed empress of Russia. Thus the former Livonian peasant ascended the Russian throne.

The Reign of Elizabeth.—After the death of Catherine I (1727) the throne of Russia was occupied in succession by Peter II (1727–1730), Anna Ivanovna (1730–1740) and Peter's daughter Elizabeth, "la catin du Nord" (1741–1760), and at last by Peter III.

Catherine II.—Peter III was assassinated and his wife Catherine, the little German princess, became empress of Russia, and the long reign, licentious, dazzling and tyrannical, of the "Northern Semiramis" began. Her reign was brilliant, for Russian troops were victorious, and the boundaries of the Russian Empire extended to the west and to the south. It was tyrannical, because only the court basked in the sunshine of her favours and liberality; the people, the "magnum ignotum," in Hertzen's words, had no share in it. This people was a stranger to its rulers, and its "fathers" and Tsars knew it not. Volumes have been written on the reign of this empress, but, compelled to bring the history of Russia within the frame of a primer, a brief sketch of the chief events is only possible here. They may be divided into two: (1) Foreign Policy, and (2) Internal Government.

Foreign Policy.—Catherine took her lion's share in Poland, when that unhappy country was divided among its three neighbours, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Turkey, incited by French diplomatists and Polish confederates, had declared war against Russia in 1767. It lasted about six years, during which the Russians, under Roumyanzef, Spiridof, and Greig (an Englishman), gained many victories. In

1774 the Peace of Koutshouk-Kaynardji was concluded. In 1783 the Crimea was definitely united to Russia.

The Annexation of Poland.—Owing to its constitution, the *pacta conventa*, the continual feuds between the nobles, and the annoyances and restrictions exercised against the followers of the Greek Church, Poland was in a condition of weakness. This led to a complete state of anarchy, of which Poland's neighbours were only too eager to avail themselves. In 1763, after the death of Augustus, Stanislaus Poniatovsky, one of Catherine's favourites whilst she was still grand duchess, was elected king. In 1768 a treaty was concluded between Poland and Russia, by which Poland's constitution could not be altered without the consent of Russia. In 1768 a confederacy was formed at Bar, with the object of depriving the dissenters of their rights, and of driving the invaders from the country. The king appealed to Russia for help, and a general insurrection was the result. The king of Prussia now proposed the partition of Poland. By the treaty of 1771 Russia acquired White Russia (or Byelo-Russia), Polotzk, Vitebsk, Mohilev and Gomel; Prussia took Western Prussia, and Austria came into possession of Red Russia and Galicia. Poland continued her death struggle for another two decades, when she was completely dismembered.

A second partition took place in 1793, and Russia acquired another portion of Poland as far as the centre of Lithuania and Volhynia. A Diet was convoked at Grodno and compelled by Russian military force to ratify the arrangement. Polish patriots now took up arms and made a last gallant attempt to save the national independence. Bravely they fought, but in vain. Thaddaeus Kosciuszko, Poland's hero, who, like Lafayette, had fought in the American war, raised the flag of independence. But the nobles abandoned him, and he was defeated by the Russian general Suvarof, in the battle of Maciejowice in 1794. Kosciuszko himself was wounded and taken prisoner. He is reported to have uttered the words, "*Finis Poloniae*," but he afterwards denied this. Paul I, on his accession to the throne, set Kosciuszko free, and the latter died in Switzerland in 1817. In 1795 Catherine finally annexed Courland. She had put Biron in possession of the duchy, but his rule was only a preliminary to the complete annexation of the duchy.

Internal Government—Pougatshev.—In the year 1773 Catherine's throne suddenly seemed to totter. The danger that threatened was the revolt of Pougatshev, who was joined by the discontented peasants, Cossacks, and Raskolniks. Pougatshev, following the example set in previous years by the false Demetrius, gave himself out as the Tsar Peter III, who was supposed to have escaped his assassins, and to have intended to free the people from oppression.

Catherine sent General Bibikof to quell the revolt. Pougatshev was taken prisoner, having been betrayed by his friends, and was executed at Moscow. It was on this occasion that Catherine put an end to the military republic of Cossacks on the Dnieper and destroyed the *sach*. In 1787 Catherine set out on her journey to the Crimea, a journey which may be considered as a symbol of her reign, dazzling and artificial. Thanks to the arrangements made by Potemkin, the provinces through which she passed bore the appearance of prosperity. She was met on her way by Stanislaus Poniatovsky and by the German Emperor Joseph in Kherson.

Catherine's Reforms.—In 1766 Catherine convoked an assembly with a view to elaborating a new code, but the war with Turkey compelled her to break up this commission. By a ukase of 1775 the empire was divided into fifty governments instead of the fifteen provinces of which it had hitherto consisted. Every government or province was administered by a governor and vice-governor. She gave the nobles a provincial organization, and granted some privileges to the merchants of the towns. But she did nothing for the peasant. On the contrary, a law was passed by which the serfs were forbidden to complain against their masters and serfdom was introduced into the Ukraine. Catherine founded new cities and had many buildings erected.

Literature.—Catherine was a patron of learning and letters. Under the influence of France, Russian literature developed, and Russian comedy flourished. Among the most noteworthy authors are Von Visin, who wrote *The Brigadier* and the *Minor*, and the poet Derzhavin. Catherine's patronage of art and literature, and her friendship for the French philosophers did not, however, prevent her from severely punishing two Russians, who did much for their country by assisting the government in spreading education.

Catherine's son Paul, whom she treated with neglect, almost amounting to aversion, was married to Augusta, princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, and after her death to Dorothea Sophia of Wurtemberg, who received the name of Maria in the Greek Church. Catherine, in order to gain influence in Sweden, conceived the plan of marrying her granddaughter Alexandra to Gustavus IV, king of Sweden. The king arrived at St. Petersburg, was betrothed, and arrangements were made for the marriage, but on the day of the ceremony the match was broken off. The king refused to grant the princess a private chapel or priests in the palace at Stockholm; and furthermore requested that, "in public, and in all outward ceremonies, she must profess the religion of the country." Persuasion was in vain and the king left St. Petersburg.

Catherine died of apoplexy on November 17, 1796. Her valet found her "prostrate on the floor, between two doors." She died after having remained thirty-seven hours in a state of insensibility. "Oh, Catherine!" wrote the French author Masson, "dazzled by thy greatness, of which I have had a near view, charmed with thy beneficence, which rendered so many individuals happy, seduced by the thousand amiable qualities that have been admired in thee, I would fain have erected a monument in thy glory ; but torrents of blood flow in upon me and inundate my design ; the chains of thirty millions of slaves ring in my ears, and deafen ; the crimes which have reigned in thy name call forth my indignation."

Chapter XIII

ENGLAND UNDER THE ORANGE-STUARTS

The Revolution of 1688 and England's Foreign Policy—The Reign of Queen Anne—England under the Hanoverians—The Indian War—Anarchy in India—Robert Clive—Warren Hastings—The American Revolution—The Treaty of Paris—The Independence of Ireland—The New Age.

THE Revolution of 1688 is the true starting-point of the extension of England's power. During the reigns of William III and Anne, the Stuart policy, favourable to France, was abandoned, and by the part she played in the European alliances England contributed greatly to the downfall of Louis XIV. As a result of this national policy, in less than a century England became the dominating Power in Europe, and mistress of the seas.

William of Orange governed England with remarkable moderation, although he owed his throne to a revolution. After the victories of Drogheda (1690) and La Hogue (1692) over the Stuarts he was ready to grant an amnesty to the Jacobites, and religious toleration to the dissenters, and by exercising the royal prerogative of mercy he was enabled to check excessive violence. He discreetly abstained from personal intervention in the government; England could not forget his foreign birth, and the people distrusted him; it was said that he was stadtholder in England and king in Holland, his popularity in the latter country contrasting strangely with the distrust of the English. He was entirely absorbed by his struggle with Louis XIV, was the moving spirit of the League of Augsburg, and in spite of the victories of Luxembourg and Catinat compelled Louis XIV to sign the harsh Treaty of Ryswick. Upon the death of Charles II of Spain, William concluded a new alliance against France, but died shortly after from the effects of a fall from his horse in 1702, aged fifty-two, and his sister-in-law, Anne Stuart, who had married Prince George of Denmark, succeeded him.

Reign of Queen Anne (1702-14).—Under the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, Queen Anne left the power in the hands of the Whigs, of whom Marlborough was leader. The latter had covered himself with glory at Hochstedt, Ramillies and Oudenarde,

at the same time as Rooke captured Gibraltar, and Metheren made Portugal dependent on England. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was a brilliant triumph of English policy ; Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland and Acadie were ceded to England, and the latter's allies were enriched at the expense of Spain.

Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland (1707).—The reign of Queen Anne is remarkable for the union of England and Scotland. The union of the two countries effected when James I mounted the English throne, could not be considered lasting while the two countries had distinct parliaments, separate administrations and different laws. Stipulating for religious freedom, and for the admission of Scottish representatives in the English Parliament, the Parliament of Edinburgh finally gave way, and on May 1, 1707, Scottish deputies entered the Houses of Lords and Commons.

Queen Anne was constrained to repress an attempt on the part of the Scottish Jacobites to restore the crown to the Pretender, son of James II. In the last years of her reign she disgraced Marlborough, and formed a Tory ministry, led by Oxford and Bolingbroke, who signed the Treaty of Utrecht with France ; she wished to repeal the law which excluded the Pretender from the throne, but the Tories themselves rebelled at the thought of giving obedience to a Catholic prince. Queen Anne died regretting she was unable to leave the crown to her brother.

England under the Hanoverians—George I (1714-27).—George I of Brunswick, Elector of Hanover, was a descendant of James I, by his grandmother, Elizabeth, wife of the elector palatine, Frederick V. A declared enemy of Louis XIV and a Protestant, he had been designated since 1700 to be Anne's successor, but to the end he was a German prince. He left the government to the Whig party, led in the first instance by Stanhope and then by Walpole. Walpole established the septennial Parliament ; this minister was known as the father of corruption, and flattered himself that he knew the price of every man's conscience. Nevertheless, the long peace due to his administration gave England an opportunity of internal development.

George II (1727-60).—George II, a German like his father by taste and education, was incapable of understanding the mechanism of representative government, and left the conduct of national affairs to Walpole. England grew at last weary of peace ; she had coveted for many years the commerce of the Spanish colonies, the severity of Spain in repressing contraband trade served as a pretext to arouse public opinion against Walpole, who was finally compelled to declare war on Spain. Admiral Vernon immediately set sail for America, took and pillaged Portobello, but was repulsed from Carthage ; the other admirals were no more successful in European seas. This, and

the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, hastened Walpole's downfall. He was succeeded by the warlike Garteret.

England, through her jealousy of France espoused the cause of Maria Theresa, and entered into the War of the Austrian Succession. Victorious at Dettingen and beaten at Fontenoy, the English arms did not meet with any great success. At one moment the French were masters of the Low Countries, and the Pretender master of Scotland.

Though the latter only landed in the Hebrides with seven companions, a few weeks sufficed for him to raise an army; his gracious manners and chivalry soon arousing the old devotion to the Stuarts of the Scottish Highlanders. After the victories of Preston Pans and Falkirk he advanced as far as Derby, but the inaction of the English Jacobites and the want of discipline among the Scottish army compelled him to return to the north. He was vanquished at Culloden by the Duke of Cumberland (1746) and fled to France.

Scotland paid dearly for her loyalty to the last of the Stuarts. Several Jacobite leaders perished on the scaffold, and whole villages were burnt. Compelled to leave France after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Pretender took refuge in Rome, and died there in 1788.

The sole result of the Hanoverian policy imposed on his ministers by George II during the War of the Austrian Succession (1756-1763) was an increase in the National Debt. It was due to William Pitt, the Great Commoner, that the king was finally compelled to adopt a more national policy. After the defeat of Admiral Byng at Port Mahon and the capitulation of Cumberland at Closter-Seven had brought about Walpole's downfall, it was three months before the king could be induced to nominate Pitt as his successor, so greatly did he dislike him. Supported by a devoted majority and the popular enthusiasm, Pitt succeeded in imparting a new impetus to the war, and success crowned his efforts. The English fleet, dominating the ocean, destroyed French commerce, and scattered the French fleet. The English army seized Senegal in Africa, the island of Cape Breton, Quebec and New France in America, and Pondicherry and the Indian Empire in Asia.

The death of George II brought with it Pitt's downfall. The new king, George III (1760-1820), more popular than his predecessors, desired to get the government into his own hands; it was, in reality, in the hands of his favourites. The chief result of the new policy was the loss of England's best colonies.

THE INDIAN WAR (1756-63)

Origin of the East India Company.—In December 1599 a few merchants of the Royal Exchange formed a company to send a commercial

expedition to India ; their capital was merely £30,000. This was the beginning of the great company destined to conquer our empire of two hundred million people. The company had to withstand the jealousy of the Portuguese and the Dutch, who were supreme in the Indian Ocean. Bombay was the first town acquired by it, it being ceded to them by Charles II in 1688, who had received it as a dowry with Queen Catherine. Madras and Calcutta were shortly after added to the company's possessions. France, on her part, had also founded various settlements in India, and after several unsuccessful attempts the French East India Company was founded by Colbert in 1664, and acquired Chandernagor and Pondicherry.

But the wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession were fatal to it ; Pondicherry fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1689, and a large number of French vessels were captured by English and Dutch pirates.

Anarchy in India.—Dupleix, nominated as Governor-General of the company's settlements in India, took advantage of the anarchy reigning in India among the numerous nabobs and rajahs to found a French empire on the ruins of the Empire of the Great Mogul. To accomplish his designs he had need of an army, which could be supplied to him by La Bourdonnais, who as governor of the islands of France and Bourbon had made them the chief colonies of the Indian Ocean. His genius for administration was such that upon the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession he was in a position to menace the English colonies in India, the town of Madras capitulating to him in 1746 on condition that it was to be restored to England at the end of the war in return for a ransom of nine millions. Unfortunately Dupleix and La Bourdonnais were acting independently one of the other and receiving different instructions, the one from the company, the other from Versailles. Dupleix, who wished to keep Madras for France, declared the terms of capitulation null, and accused La Bourdonnais of having betrayed the company's interests. The latter was recalled to France and thrown into the Bastille. His departure brought disaster upon the French, and though Dupleix, besieged in Pondicherry, offered such a valiant resistance that the English were compelled to raise the siege, he was forced by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to restore Madras to England.

By his able and enterprising policy he succeeded in making his authority respected by the native princes, and in checking their extortions. His protégés, who reigned in the Deccan and Carnatic, in return for his support gave him suzerainty over all the Coromandel coast south of the Krishna, and possession of the province of Orissa from the Krishna to Bengal.

Robert Clive.—The English grew alarmed at this progress, and,

under Clive and Lawrence, lent assistance to his adversaries, and pressure was brought on the court of Versailles to recall the perturber of the peace of India. Dupleix was recalled in 1754, and his successors signed the Treaty of Madras with the English, by which the two companies agreed not to intervene in the affairs of the native princes, and to restore all territories acquired since the treaty of 1748. France lost an empire, and Dupleix died in poverty in 1763, having attempted in vain to recover the sums advanced to the company.

As representative of the company, Clive adopted Dupleix's policy with less scruple and equal ability. But, faithful to the Treaty of Madras, the French abstained from hostilities upon the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, but the less scrupulous Clive fell upon Chandernagor and took possession of it (1757).

Bussi maintained for a time the French domination, but after his recall the French lost ground; beaten at Vandenash and besieged in Pondicherry, they were compelled to capitulate (1761).

Clive was then able to found the English Empire in India. After the famous incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta, when Souradja Dowla caused the death of more than one hundred English prisoners, Clive hastened to Plassey, and with a small force of 3,000 men routed an army of 60,000 (1757). The victory gave Bengal into his hands. English supremacy in India was from thenceforward assured. Alliances were formed against him in vain. A few European battalions sufficed to disperse undisciplined armies. He made and deposed kings at will.

Warren Hastings.—Lord Clive, during his last years in India, endeavoured to consolidate by a wise government the empire he had founded, and worked with creditable zeal to check abuses; but the complaints of the Indians, exaggerated by the hatred of Clive's political enemies, found an echo in England. Accused of violence and extortion, Clive was tried by the House of Lords, and, though found guilty of undoubted abuses, was acquitted in view of the great services he had rendered his country. Prey to deep melancholy, the conqueror of India committed suicide (1771). Warren Hastings, Clive's successor in India, was still less scrupulous. He possessed all the talents and all the vices of an Asiatic conqueror added to a marvellous knowledge of Indian affairs. At the outbreak of the war of American Independence he was at the moment menaced by the Mahrattas, and only escaped utter ruin by sheer courage and ability. Upon the arrival of Suffren, however, followed by the French victories and their alliance with Tippoo Sahib, England's power was again endangered, but Hastings was saved by the news of the Treaty of Versailles. Unencumbered by the French, he had no difficulty in compelling Tippoo Sahib to restore his conquests.

In order to procure money for the company he availed himself of any means, however shameful. According to Villemain, finding in making his accounts at the close of 1781, that he was short of fifty millions, Hastings set out with a few hundred soldiers to visit the sacred city of Benares, and demand the money of one of his allies. This not being instantly forthcoming, the English possessed themselves of the rajah's treasures by force of arms. The greater part, however, falling into the hands of the soldiers, Hastings set out to visit another ally, the rajah of Oude. This prince had a mother and sister, who, it was rumoured, possessed immense treasures. Accusing the two princesses of conspiring against England, Hastings compelled the rajah to march against them, and dispatched some English soldiers with him to render assistance. This expedition brought Hastings the fifty millions he required. The pillage of India, however, was less profitable to the company than to its agents, and several times it was compelled to appeal to the State for financial assistance, and came thus under its authority. In 1773 the Regulating Act was passed appointing a Council and a Court of Justice, the members to be appointed by government, to assist the Governor-General. On his return to England an action was brought against Hastings by the House of Commons. The process dragged on for eight years, being even more scandalous than that of Clive. In 1795 Hastings was ultimately acquitted.

Hastings had made England mistress of the Deccan and of the valley of the Ganges. Tippoo Sahib took the field again after Hastings' departure, but he was defeated on all sides, and died, in 1799, defending his capital, Seringapatam.

The American Revolution (1775-1783).—Another important event which occurred during the reign of George III was England's loss of her American colonies.

England in the eighteenth century had seized the sceptre of the seas and founded a magnificent colonial empire, not only in India, but also in America. The American colonies, however, were very different from the Indian. A new people had sprung up there who were not prepared to tolerate the slightest tyranny or the least infringement of their privileges. England might oppress with impunity the inoffensive populations of India; she could not raise the smallest tax from the American colonists.

Though Virginia had been reconnoitred by Raleigh, and so named by him after Queen Elizabeth, it was not until 1606 that the two companies of London and Plymouth were founded for the exploitation and colonization of that state. From the beginning the colonists had enjoyed the greatest liberty. Governor Harvey was deposed by the Colonial Assembly and sent back to England; and though he

was restored to power by Charles I, the king was compelled to recall him. Berkeley, who succeeded him, adopted a different policy, and became so popular that he was able to keep Virginia faithful to the king even after the Parliamentary success in England. It was only the advent of a fleet dispatched by Cromwell that could induce the loyal Virginians to recognize the Republic. Charles II bestowed new favours and privileges in reward for this loyalty.

The spirit of liberty which prevailed in Virginia was as fully developed in the northern colonies called New England. Founded in 1620 the colonies were rapidly peopled by emigrants driven from the home country by the tyranny of the Stuarts. In 1621 the first colony was established near Cape Cod, and a few years later Boston was founded. The constitution adopted by these settlers was naturally democratic and well-nigh republican. The royal governor enjoyed little more than honorary prerogatives. In 1640 more than four thousand English families were settled in America.

After the Treaty of Breda in 1667 England acquired the territories situated near the mouth of the Hudson, which shortly became the colonies of New York, New Jersey and Delaware. The organization of Pennsylvania by William Penn completed the central group of colonies.

The spirit of independence was the only bond of sympathy between the northern and southern English colonies; the democratic Puritan settlers of the north cultivating their own lands, had nothing in common with the rich settlers of Virginia, scions of the nobility or of the wealthy middle classes, whose number was increased by the numerous Cavaliers who fled from England after the defeat of Charles I. Their lands were tilled by African slaves. The English American colonies became very prosperous in the eighteenth century; soon they reached the valley of the Ohio, where the French were already established. It was the great aim of the English settlers to drive the French out, which was one of the causes of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

Nevertheless, England groaned under the burden of a heavy National Debt and it was thought fitting that the colonies should assist in paying it, but the colonies had a keen love of self-government, and like all English citizens, considered that a tax to be lawful should be voted by the representatives of the people. The colonies had no representatives in the English Parliament; it was not, as Franklin said, that they wished to be exempt from paying taxes, but they considered that their own parliaments should decide what they could and ought to pay to England. The latter in her pride and attachment to old traditions would not admit colonial representation, the right of the metropolis was supreme, Whigs, Tories, king and ministers all were

agreed on the point. The colonists took up arms in defence of their rights and liberties. England believed that it would suffice for a regiment to traverse the colonies from north to south, dispatched an army of German mercenaries to America, and attempted an alliance with the Redskins against the colonists. At this news every vestige of loyalty was swept away ; the Americans overthrew the statues of George III, and hauled down the English flag, replacing it by a flag of thirteen red and white stripes, signifying the union of the thirteen colonies. At last, on July 4, 1776, the Congress of Philadelphia proclaimed the independence of the United States. This declaration of independence put an end to any hope of a reconciliation with England. Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams, and the great Washington were amongst those who took the initiative in the congress in declaring American Independence.

George Washington came of a rich family of Virginia, a man of active and hardy character, a lover of adventure and danger, whose physical strength, perseverance and presence of mind rendered him well fitted to triumph over difficulties. France, Spain and Holland, were drawn into the great struggle.

Public opinion in France had long declared in favour of the insurgents, the army and the nation were impatient to repair the disasters of the Seven Years' War. Franklin by his severe simplicity and kindly charm had made the American cause fashionable. Louis XVI, however, hesitated to assist revolted subjects against their sovereign, and to favour the foundation of a Republic. He well knew that his "profession was to be a Royalist." Such politicians as Choiseul and Turgot were of opinion that the English and Americans should be left to exterminate one another. Necker on his part spoke of financial embarrassment, nevertheless Louis XVI ended by signing a treaty of alliance and commerce with Franklin in February 1778, and thus the oldest European monarchy was the first to recognize the existence of the new Republic.

England, realizing her mistake too late, abandoned her haughty pretensions and introduced a conciliatory Bill according parliamentary representation to the colonies, and giving them extensive commercial concessions. The colonies, however, insisted on their independence being recognized. At this news Lord Chatham, who had been absent from the House through sickness, caused himself to be carried into the House of Lords, and in a vehement and eloquent speech he protested against the dismemberment of the British Empire and urged in preference a war with France. "If we must fall," he concluded, "let us at least fall like men." In pronouncing these words he fainted. He died a few weeks later, but his last wish was heard, and war was declared on Louis XVI.

The war was ended with the Peace of Paris (1783). This treaty recognized the independence of the United States, restored to France St. Pierre and Miquelon, the factories of Senegal and her Indian colonies, and removed the humiliating clause of the Treaty of Utrecht relating to Dunkirk.

Spain recovered Minorca and Florida, and Holland her colonies, with the exception of Negapatam, which was ceded to England.

The United States were free, but impoverished by a seven years' war, without money, constitution or regular government. Washington, however, more distinguished even by his civic virtues than by his military talents, saved his country from anarchy, as he had saved it from despotism. At his instigation a Convention was assembled at Philadelphia in 1787 to draw up a Constitution. Washington was twice elected President, refused to be elected a third time in 1797, and died in 1799, with the reputation of being one of the greatest citizens the world has ever known.

Independence of Ireland.—During the American War of Independence the Irish began an agitation for Home Rule or an independent Parliament. A Declaration of Right was drawn up by Henry Grattan, and fear of a revolt like that of the American colonists induced the English government to grant the demands of the Irish (1782). This independence, however, Ireland lost again in 1800, when the younger Pitt passed the Act of Union and incorporated the Irish Parliament with the British in London.

The New Age.—During the second half of the eighteenth century, the heads of nearly all the European States endeavoured their utmost to do away with an obsolete condition of affairs by the exercise of unlimited power placed in the hands of government, and to increase the welfare of the people and further the advancement of thought, bringing about their reforms at times by high-handed measures. The reformer of Portugal, who had lost much of her ancient greatness, was the minister Pombal, whose enemies looked upon the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 as a judgment of God on his innovations. The opposition of the Jesuits both in Portugal itself and in their mission stations in Paraguay to his measure of reform, and the suspicion of a design to murder the king, gave rise to general disorder throughout the kingdom; the same occurred in France in opposition to Ricci, when dealing with the land laws, and in Spain through the minister Aranda; also in Naples and Parma, while Pope Clement XIV was forced by the Catholic Powers to abolish the order of Jesuits, who, on account solely of their learning were given shelter by Frederick II in Silesia, and by Catherine II. In Denmark Struensee, who had been raised from being court physician to the post of chief minister, did not carry out his reforms without

suffering for it, and finally was disgraced and executed, the Queen Carolina Matilda being implicated in his fall. In Sweden, King Gustavus III, after having by a bloodless revolution put an end to the power of the worthless nobles, was the founder of numerous reforms, but finally fell beneath the dagger of an assassin, a victim to a plot concerted by the nobles, but not before he had carried through a brave but fruitless war with Russia. Italy had remained as she had been for a long time, continually subject to foreign domination, or divided into separate principalities or republics. In Spain, now ruled by the Bourbons, the constitutional "rights" of the nation were destroyed. But we now come to the greatest event in the modern History of Europe—the French Revolution.

PART IV

B.—EUROPE SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Chapter I

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

End of the Reign of Louis XV—Accession of Louis XVI (1774)—Causes of the Revolution—The National Assembly—The Constitutional Assembly—The Declaration of the Rights of Man—The Legislative Assembly—The National Convention—The Reign of Terror—The Directory—Napoleon—The Egyptian Expedition—The Second European Coalition—The Consulate.

THE reign of Louis XV (1715–74) was a disastrous one for France. Unsuccessful wars abroad, and an oppressive rule within had increased the discontent of the nation with the government and its contempt for the king and his profligate court, where his mistresses reigned supreme. Famous among the many favourites of Louis XV are the Marquise de Pompadour and the Comtesse Dubarry, Prime Ministers in petticoats, ruling the sovereign and the nation. Louis XV died in 1774, and his grandson, Louis XVI, ascended the throne.

Causes of the Revolution.—France was groaning under a debt of 1,000,000,000 francs, due to the ambition and extravagance of Louis XIV, to the disastrous wars of Louis XV, and to the enormous sums lavished by the latter on his mistresses. The whole weight of taxation fell on the middle and lower classes. The *haute noblesse* and the *noblesse de robe*, as well as the clergy, were almost entirely exempt, although in receipt of immense revenues. The Church was the highest order in the State, and the most detested by the people. The peasantry were in a miserable condition; if they were not actually slaves, they were equally without any one to protect them, and their total ignorance rendered them incapable of keeping themselves. The *taille* was raised principally at their expense, and its cruelty was aggravated by the fact that the amount levied varied from year to year, so that the poor never knew how much would be extorted from them. The army was recruited almost entirely from this class, the depopulation of the villages causing infinite distress.

A further intolerable burden was the *gabelle*, or tax on salt; the poor were forced to buy it at exorbitant prices, even though their

money was sorely needed for bread, and every day unfortunate victims were seized, sold, and executed for having failed to purchase it. Added to all this was the *corvée*, which was started at the close of Louis XIV's reign, in order to secure labour for the making and repairing of the roads. It was a system of enforced labour, soon put into use for other works, such as the building of barracks, the transport of baggage for the army, etc., whereby those so employed being mulcted of time and payment, were very shortly reduced to a state of penury which made it impossible for them to meet the other demands upon them. In such a hopeless condition was that class of the community which was soon to rise with such terrible vengeance against its oppressors. Private tyranny was also exercised by the owners of estates over their tenants, and there were innumerable rights belonging to the seigneur which helped to drain the means of the agriculturist. The killing of a rabbit was a crime severely punished, while the labourer as the harvest approached had to lose a part of his time every day in driving away the birds which it would have endangered his liberty to kill. Starvation was the yearly condition of the peasantry; those who lived among the mountains lived six months on end on chestnuts; barley and oats, in some places a little salted goat's flesh, were the staple foods; their dwellings and clothes were hardly worth the name of such; miserable habitations with mud floors, either no windows, or windows without glass, and rags.

The inhabitants of the towns were somewhat better off, in spite of monopolies and privileges of all kinds.

In face of all these abuses it is not to be wondered at that the lower classes were ready to follow at a sign from the revolutionary spirit that was beginning to impregnate the whole tone of society.

The growing tyranny of the king and his ministers since the time of Louis XIV, more especially the *lettres de cachet*, had brought odium on royalty, while the shameful profligacy of Louis XV had brought it into contempt; this king cared nothing for the future, he and his court were occupied solely in their daily personal enjoyment. Louis XVI had the will, and for a while under Turgot's influence, seemed to realize that it was his duty to endeavour to undo the evil that had been set on foot by his predecessors. But he had neither power nor energy, and was as incapable of becoming a reformer as he was of becoming a tyrant. But another power was at work undermining the existing state of affairs. The nation was being gradually educated to new ideas by philosophers and economists; the oppressed peasantry naturally grew enthusiastic over the idea that all men were equal; the small tenant farmer, whose fields had been devastated by the rabbits of his gentleman neighbour, readily agreed to the doctrine that privileges of all kinds were against reason. Some time before

the revolution the edicts passed under Louis XVI spoke of natural law and the rights of man, and peasants began to style their fellow-peasants "fellow-citizens." Religion underwent also a liberal change; God became "the Supreme Being," and the basis of religious faith and of morality was destroyed.

A revolution had been for some time foreseen by the more enlightened spirits. Even Fénelon in 1710 saw the monarchy crumbling: J. J. Rousseau announced the near approach of a great crisis, and Voltaire greeted the inevitable revolution which he regretted he should not live to see. Only those in power and the privileged classes remained blind. The Parliament of Toulouse and royalty themselves furnished arguments in support of the new views as early as 1772. It was government which by its mistaken measures was starving the people; money spent by the king on the roads was only for the extra comfort of the rich, etc. From another quarter came the demand that there should be a commission to inquire into the rights and revenues of the privileged classes, not perceiving that the comparison of their indigence with the wealth of those above them would but help to exasperate the general discontent of the oppressed.

The National Assembly.—War with England (1778–83), and the active assistance given to the Americans in their struggle for liberty, added to the nation's debts and awakened a desire for a more liberal government. Turgot's effort to relieve the financial pressure by taxing the nobles and clergy brought about his downfall; his successor, Necker, who sought help in renewed loans, added some millions to the national debt. His *compte rendu* (1781) and his wish for a freer hand were the chief causes of his dismissal. Then Calonne and Brienne in turn endeavoured to cope with the financial difficulty, the former calling an assembly of the notables (1787); but as neither had any power to resist the opposition of these privileged classes, Necker, who had been recalled, advised the summoning of the *States-General*, which assembled for the first time since 1614, on May 5, 1789. The great question was the vote by order or by head; the latter meant a majority on the side of reform, the former the triumph of the privileged orders. There was hesitation and inaction on the part of the court and Necker, and finally the Tiers État, after waiting for five weeks, and making a last offer to the other orders to join with them, declared themselves the National Assembly, and thus began the Revolution. Their revolution was supported by the Abbé Sieyès, Mirabeau and Monnier. Under pretext of the king holding a sitting, the Parliament House was shut against the Tiers État on June 20; it retired to the Jeu de Paume (tennis court), and there 600 deputies took a solemn oath not

to separate till they had given France a constitution. On the 23rd, when the king ordered the three Estates to retire to their respective chambers, the nobles and clergy obeyed, but the Third Estate refused, and when the grand master of the ceremonies came to remind them of the king's order, Mirabeau rose and made the famous reply, "We are here according to the will of the people and force alone shall drive us out!" The Third Estate now declared itself a Constituent Assembly; the king dared not oppose it, and advised the nobles and clergy to come to terms with it.

*The Constituent Assembly (June 17, 1789, to Sept. 30, 1791).—*The gathering of troops at the royal command, and the dismissal of the popular minister Necker, added to incendiary speeches by Camille Desmoulins, Marat and others, roused the people to fury, and on July 14 the storming and destruction of the Bastille took place, when the governor, De Launay, and other officers and soldiers were killed by the infuriated mob. Before this, in view of the court party taking up the offensive, the forming of a National Guard of 48,000 men had been ordered, but the court had given up the idea now of any bellicose action. Louis himself announced to the Assembly on July 15, that the troops had been sent back from Paris and that Necker was recalled. He confirmed the creation of the National Guard, and nominated Lafayette as general. The anarchy in Paris had by this time spread to the provinces; many nobles had to flee from their estates; they took refuge on the frontiers, assembling under the king's brother the Duc d'Artois, and appealing for foreign help.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man.—An unexpected event occurred on the night of August 4, when the deputies of the different orders went down to the Assembly to make a formal renunciation of their privileges. "From that time," writes Michelet, "there were no longer classes, but French people; no longer provinces, but a France."

Then followed the Declaration of the Rights of Man, August 23, 1789; the founding of the clubs—the two chief being the Club des Jacobins and the Club des Cordeliers; the alienation of crown and national property, the secularization of Church property; the suppression of hereditary titles and the abolition of privileges; the enforced use of paper-money; the division of France into eighty-three departments and 249 cantons; the separation of the judicial legislative power from the executive; the general right of voting.

Necker had again been forced to resign his post; Mirabeau, who had in vain striven to stay the flood of republicanism and to save the king, had died; there was nothing to oppose the extreme party.

The king attempted to flee with his family, but was stopped at

Varennes and brought back to Paris; the same year (1791) he was forced to acknowledge the new Constitution. Meanwhile, the German princes, feeling their own safety threatened, formed an alliance with Austria and Prussia; they were urged by the refugees to go to the help of France, and finally the Legislative Assembly voted for a declaration of war against Austria.

The Legislative Assembly (Oct. 1, 1791, to Sept. 19, 1792).—This Assembly was composed of three parties, the Feuillants, the Jacobins, including the Cordeliers, and the more moderate Girondists. The king feeling that his last chance of safety lay in allying himself to these, formed a Girondist ministry, but remaining firm in his refusal to sanction the decrees against priests and emigrés and the creation of a camp near Paris, the ministers resigned. Then the Girondists under Pétion incited the people to rise in order to intimidate the king, and the people made an assault upon the Tuileries (August 10, 1792); the king, who had sought refuge in the National Assembly, was taken prisoner and put in the Temple.

The National Convention (Sept. 20, 1792, to Oct. 26, 1795).—Headed by Danton, Hébert, Maillard and others, the Jacobins now turned their hatred against the royalist prisoners, and 7,000 were massacred in the course of five days. The Legislative Assembly, unable to stem the hideous tide of bloodshed, broke up, and in its place was formed the *National Convention*, a national assembly of 749 members (September 21), which declared the Monarchy at an end and France a Republic.

The Mountain, under Robespierre, Danton and Marat, voted for the king to be brought to trial. Malesherbes and De Size pleaded for the king, but the latter was condemned and guillotined, January 21, 1793. The Girondins had only timidly attempted to save him.

Then followed the fall of the Girondists; the National Guard surrounded the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting, so that no members could escape; Marat read out the names of the "députés indignes," and the Mountain voted the expulsion of thirty-one Girondists. The way was now cleared for the subsequent "Reign of Terror," which lasted, with Robespierre at its head, from August 10, 1793, to October 26, 1795, during which fell the queen, Madame Elizabeth, Princesse Lamballe and Madame Roland. Charlotte Corday in order to revenge the expulsion of the Girondists murdered Marat in his bath, for which crime she died by the guillotine. The existence of God was denied, and a Goddess of Reason erected for worship instead.

The Reign of Terror—The Directory (Oct. 27, 1795, to Nov. 9, 1799).—Danton, Hébert and Desmoulins fell; Robespierre was now dictator; his famous decree, "The French people acknowledge the

existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul," was voted by the Convention, but did not alter the hideous state of affairs. His own turn came. Tallien, Freron, Fouché, Barras and others, in fear of their own lives, brought accusations against him which ended by his being led to the guillotine July 28, 1794, and the actual reign of terror came to a close. That year over 577 persons had been executed between March 3 and June 10; after the famous decree of June 10 (22 Prairial) the terror increased, and between that date and July 27, the day previous to Robespierre's execution, there fell 2,085 victims. There now followed a short struggle between the Thermidorians, the more moderate party and the Mountain; the former, supported by the "Jeunesse dorée," gained the upper hand. The Jacobin Club was deprived of its power, the prisons were opened and religious freedom re-established. A third constitution was drawn up; the executive was confided to a Directory, it was composed of five members named by the Conseils, and re-elected every year; the legislative power was put in the hands of two Councils (Conseils), the one of the Five Hundred, the other of the Ancients.

Wars of the Revolution.—A war broke out in France itself in Vendée; the Vendéans, led by Catelinau, Stofflet and others, took up arms for Louis XVI's son; they were, however, soon overpowered by the Republicans. Other royalist chiefs of note were Laroche, Jaquelin and Charette. A similar insurrection broke out in Bretagne among the "Chouans," but the pacification of both was effected by Hoche. In both insurrectionary areas the atrocities of the Terror had had full play among the insurgents.

In the south there was an armed resistance to the Convention, but the Republicans took Bordeaux, Marseilles, Lyons and Toulon, and the insurrectionists were killed by thousands, Carrier's atrocities at Nantes being conspicuous; thousands perished by his Noyades, or Republican marriages. Napoleon Bonaparte won his first military laurels at Toulon.

Napoleon.—Napoleon was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, August 15, 1769. He was the son of a noble family, and at eight years of age was sent to the military school at Brienne; he received further training in the military school of Paris, at sixteen was made sub-lieutenant at Grenoble, and in 1789 joined Valence in Corsica, and the Jacobins in Paris. When his family was banished from Corsica by Paoli and settled at Marseilles, he was sent against the insurrectionists in Toulon. After giving help to the Convention which enabled it to establish the Directory, he received the supreme command of the Italian army. While the French were unable to accomplish anything in Germany against Austria, Napoleon, then twenty-seven

years of age, led his army in Italy from victory to victory—at Moulenotte, Millesimo, Mondois, Lodi, and near Castiglione, Roverdo, Arcole and Rivoli. At Arcole his men gave way and he himself was overthrown into the morass by the flying troops, but finally by sending a corps to cross the Etsch at another spot and attack the enemy on the flank, he took the bridge. After this he won possession of the fortress of Mantua, marching then through the Tyrol, and would have gone on to Vienna had he not feared to be cut off from Italy, as the people were rising against the French in the Tyrol, Venetia, Bohemia and Hungary. He therefore concluded the Peace of Leoben with Austria (April 7, 1797), which left him free to turn his arms against Venice, which, by the aid of allies in the republic itself, he robbed of its political existence. He converted Genoa into the Ligurian Republic, and Lombardy, with other territories of Upper Italy, into the Cisalpine Republic, and celebrated these victories in a magnificent fête at Milan. The first coalition was gloriously terminated by the Peace of Campo-Formio. By this France was confirmed in possession of the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium and Lombardy being also added to her; the Emperor received the Venetian territory, and recognized the existence of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics.

Napoleon and the Directory.—Meanwhile in France those composing the new government were in a difficult position between the terrorists and the anti-revolutionists; they were forced to adopt extreme measures to help themselves out of their financial difficulties, and the richer classes were alarmed at the depreciation of the “assignats.” The bulk of the people were tired of public agitation; they were without work and often without bread, and seemed to have grown indifferent as to what form of government was in power. It was no wonder that the hopes of many were fixed on the victorious general in Italy. The government endeavoured to turn popular attention away from internal matters to the foreign wars, while it sought to fill the treasury by a system of robbery. On September 4, 1797, by a *coup d'état* Augereau entered Paris with 12,000 men, disarmed the guard of the Councils, and arrested a certain number of leaders. The following day a vote was passed dismissing Carnot and Barthélemy and fifty-three members, and forty-two proprietors or editors of papers. Among them was Pichegru. Despotism was re-established under the pretence of a Republic. Hoche died at this time. He had had the chief command in Paris, and now Napoleon, to carry out his designs repaired to the capital to seize the supreme command, and was received with enthusiasm; the Directory, however, did not want him, and were determined to get rid of him. They, therefore, under pretence of preparing

an invasion of England, secretly arranged for an expedition to Egypt, whence they intended to attack the English possessions in the East.

Meanwhile, after the Pope had been made prisoner, the Papal states had been converted into a Roman Republic, and Switzerland, which had remained neutral, treated, against all laws of right and justice, as a conquered province, and made into the Helvetic Republic.

The Egyptian Expedition.—All preparations being completed for the Egyptian expedition, Napoleon sailed out of Toulon Harbour on May 19, 1799, with 32,000 men and 13 ships of the line under Admiral Brueys, with many other transports and ships of various kinds. Among the generals who accompanied him were his step-son, Beauharnais, Kléber, Desaix, Barthier, Murat, etc. Napoleon took Malta from the Knights of St. John, and sailing on to Egypt, assaulted and took Alexandria. He defeated the Mamelukes at the battle of the Pyramids, took possession of Cairo, and then sent General Desaix to overthrow Upper Egypt, and other troops for the conquest of Rosetta and Damietta. His fleet, however, was defeated by Nelson on August 1 in Aboukir Bay. Brueys himself was killed, and all the French vessels burnt or taken. Napoleon knew how to keep up his men's courage, and after quelling some risings among the inhabitants, he began his march into Syria with only 13,000 men. He took Gaza, stormed Joppa and besieged Acre, which was defended by the English Commodore Sidney Smith; its stout walls and brave defenders put a stop to the Syrian expedition, and the plague in Joppa threatening to destroy his army he marched back into Egypt in May with all the manner of a conqueror, where meanwhile Desaix had fortunately returned from Upper Egypt. Almost immediately afterwards he heard of the landing of the Turks from Rhodes, whom he encountered near Aboukir and defeated. News now reaching him of the critical position of the Directoire, he considered that "the pear was now ripe," and determined to return to France as speedily and secretly as possible. He left the army in command of Kléber and shipped for France with some of his most trusted generals on August 22, 1799. Kléber held his position for some time in Egypt and defeated the troops under the Grand Vizier which advanced to attack him from Syria; he finally fell killed by the bullet of a Mohammedan fanatic. He was succeeded in command by the renegade Menon, who failed to win the confidence of the army, and after being defeated by the English, he was forced to evacuate Egypt.

The chief fruits of the expedition were the historical and antiquarian researches of the scientific men who accompanied the expedition.

The Second European Coalition.—Meanwhile England, horrified at

the development of the French Republic, formed the second coalition with Austria, Russia, Naples and the Porte; Sweden and Portugal also joined, the new king of Prussia, Frederick Wilhelm III, alone holding aloof. The French re-opened the war in Italy, drove Charles Emanuel out of Sardinia, seized Tuscany, overcame King Ferdinand of Naples and turned his kingdom into the Parthenopaic Republic. After the defeat of the French by the Russians at Nori, Ferdinand returned to Naples, where he cruelly put to death 4,000 of the chief men and women whom he suspected of supporting the Republic.

The French sent a second army over the Rhine into South Germany, but Jourdan was driven back at Stockach by the Archduke Charles, and Massena was forced to retire further into Switzerland by his defeat at Zurich.

The Consulate (1799-1807).—The Republic just now was in a critical condition, and the Directory endeavoured to maintain its powers by measures of a more and more drastic kind. Napoleon now unexpectedly appeared upon the scene on his return from Egypt, and with the help of the opposition and the troops put at his disposal he forcibly dispersed the Directory on November 9, and set up a Consularship, composed of three Consuls, and a Council of State with a permanent tribunal of 100, and a legislative body of 300, with a Senate of 80 members chosen for life. Napoleon himself was first consul, the other two, who held the post of advisers merely, were Cambacérès and Lebrun. In order to insure his position he made offers of peace to the other Powers, which being rejected he sent Moreau, who defeated the Austrians and Bavarians at Hohenlinden, December 3, 1800, and continued his march to Vienna. Napoleon himself carried his army over the Great St. Bernard, gained a victory over the Austrians at Marengo, June 14, 1800, and having thus regained possession of Italy offered an armistice to the latter.

A fresh outbreak of war led to the Peace of Luneville, February 1801, according to the terms of which France retained possession of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, the existing republics were recognized, the Adige settled as the boundary of French possessions in Italy, and Tuscany transformed into the kingdom of Etruria.

Shortly after this the Tsar Paul met with a violent end, his successor, Alexander I, separated himself from the coalition, and Sweden and Denmark followed his example; although the French had been forced to give way before the English in Egypt and to conclude peace with the Porte, England, on account of the growing discontent in the country after the retirement of Pitt, concluded the Peace of Amiens on March 25, 1802, agreeing to give up most of her conquests to France.

Prussia evacuated Hanover, the Pope received back his papal possessions; Piedmont, however, was incorporated in the French military government. Parma fell to France after the death of the duke. The Negro state of St. Domingo was again overthrown by the French; Toussaint L'Ouverture died a prisoner in Paris in 1803, and slavery was re-established.

Chapter II

NAPOLÉON

Napoleon in Power—The Third European Coalition—Napoleon's Ambition—His Marriage—Alexander I—The Treaty of Tilsit.

NAPOLÉON'S consulate was a kingdom under another name. By his concordat with Pope Pius VII (1801), the Romish Church was re-established in France; after some opposition from the people he was, on August 5, 1802, elected consul for life, as also president of the Italian (formerly the Cisalpine) Republic. He now claimed, in virtue of his increased power, the right of conferring the Legion of Honour on his followers, an order founded by him in 1802. The supremacy of France was viewed with dismay by the European Powers, and the fear of further aggressions drove the English to break the peace, by laying an embargo on all French and Dutch vessels. Thereupon Napoleon declared war against England (May 22, 1803) and began military operations. England rose to the occasion; Pitt was recalled and again placed at the helm; her fleet was sent abroad to various head-quarters, while support of all kinds was given to the Bourbon cause in order to encourage a royalist rising. Moreau, who had refused to take part in the conspiracy was, nevertheless, banished to America as a suspect, and in order further to secure his safety, Napoleon had the young Duc d'Enghien, the last Bourbon prince of the Condé branch, arrested and shot (March 21, 1804). Napoleon was now ready for his last move. On May 16, 1804, he was proclaimed Emperor of the French by over three million votes, the succession to the title being made hereditary. He and his wife, Josephine, were anointed by the pope on December 2, Napoleon placing the crown on his own head. The despotism of the republic was now transformed into the despotism of the autocrat. During the following years the Italian Republic likewise became the kingdom of Italy, Napoleon being crowned at Milan with the Lombard crown. The Ligurian Republic (Genoa) was united to France.

The Third European Coalition.—In 1805 a third coalition was formed, at Pitt's instigation, between England, Austria, Russia and

Sweden. Denmark and Prussia remained neutral. Napoleon, in alliance with Bavaria, Baden and Würtemberg, marched quickly into Germany. Ney was victorious at Etchingen, and Napoleon forced an army of 30,000 Austrians, under Mack, to capitulate at Ulm. The Russians under Kutusoff, who were approaching the Bavarian boundaries, he drove back towards Moravia, and, marching on to Vienna, entered that city on November 13, 1805. Then followed the Battle of Austerlitz and the Treaty of Pressburg, which obliged Austria to cede some of her important possessions, and to acknowledge Bavaria and Würtemberg as kingdoms. Venice fell to France, the Tyrol to Bavaria, Breisgau to Baden, and Salzburg to Austria. But Napoleon's joy at his unparalleled successes was somewhat damped by the annihilation of his fleet at Trafalgar by the English under Nelson in 1805; the death of the latter during this engagement made the victory a dear one for the conquerors. Napoleon had, therefore, to give up his idea of effecting a landing in Egypt.

England was now eager to recover possession of Hanover, which had been given by Napoleon to Prussia in exchange for other places, and began hostilities on this account. Napoleon hereupon deposed the Bourbons in Naples, and set up his brother Joseph as king, and at the same time turned the Bavarian Republic into the kingdom of Holland, with his younger brother Louis as sovereign, and appointed his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy in Italy. To his brother-in-law, Murat, he gave the dukedom of Cleves and Berg, and among other recipients of like gifts were Bernadotte, Berthier, and Talleyrand.

In order gradually to bring Germany more fully into his power, he formed the Confederation of the Rhine, composed of sixteen reigning German princes, which was to be under French protection; this was the breaking up of the ancient German Empire. The Emperor Francis II, renounced his title of German Emperor, and henceforward was acknowledged only as the Emperor of Austria.

Meanwhile Prussia was overflowing with discontent, her harbours being invaded with English vessels, and France's attitude awakening her defiance. The military party in the country was all ready for war. Frederick William III joined a fourth coalition with Russia, Sweden and England, and declared war with Napoleon. There was a preliminary engagement near Saafeld, in which the brave young prince, Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, was killed, his army being overpowered by the enemy; then followed the two disastrous defeats to the Prussian forces at Jena and Auerstadt, under the respective generals Hohenlohe and Duke Karl Ferdinand of Brunswick, the French General Davoust carrying away the laurels from Auerstadt.

These defeats were followed by the fall of Erfurt, Spandau, Stettin, Magdeburg, and other strong places, and then Napoleon made his entry into Berlin. He drove the Prussians out of Posen, took Warsaw, and defeated the Russians at Eylau and Friedland. The taking of Königsberg was the final victory before the Peace of Tilsit (July 9, 1807). By this peace, Frederick William III had to resign half his kingdom, namely all the countries between the Elbe and the Rhine, together with the greater part of Prussian Poland and Danzig; an enormous war indemnity was also laid upon him.

Napoleon, with hostile intent towards England, now turned his thoughts to the occupation of Denmark; he was, however, forestalled, for England bombarded Copenhagen and seized the Danish fleet; whereupon Russia declared war against England. Napoleon at the same time was busy getting possession of Pomerania. The King of Sweden, Gustavus IV, having continued to wage war with France, while he concluded a treaty with Russia which enabled the latter to seize Swedish Finland, was forced to abdicate on account of a conspiracy against him, and his uncle and successor, Charles XIII, concluded a peace with Russia and Denmark, and, with the consent of the nobles, named the French marshal, Bernadotte, as his heir. The latter came finally to the throne as Charles XIV.

Napoleon's Ambition.—Napoleon's ambition was not yet satisfied; the whole of the Pyrenean peninsula had yet to be subjugated. He had already, on the pretext of punishing Portugal for admitting English commerce, in despite of the continental blockade, sent a French army into the country under Junot. Lisbon was occupied without resistance; the House of Braganza fell, and King John IV fled with his treasure to Brazil. Then Napoleon launched another 100,000 men for the conquest of Spain; King Charles IV and his son Ferdinand were forced to abdicate, and Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, while Murat took the latter's place at Naples.

But by this time the English under Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington, Moore and other generals, had landed in Portugal and forced the French to give way before them. Junot signed the Convention of Cintra and evacuated the country. Napoleon had just had a personal meeting with the Tsar Alexander at Erfurt, and had obtained the promise from him of assistance against Austria if the latter again went to war. He now hastened in person to Spain with an army of 300,000 men; he gained a victory over the English and Spaniards at Burgos and in other battles, and made himself master of Madrid, and did all in his power to secure the throne to his brother. He abolished the Inquisition and feudal rights, and suppressed two-thirds of the religious houses; these and other administrative acts

only succeeded in embittering the natives against him. He was, however, forced to leave the prosecution of the war to his brother Joseph, he himself being recalled to France by a fresh declaration of war on the part of Austria. Spain, after heroically resisting at Saragossa, was finally delivered from the French by the English, who, driven back at first by Marshal Soult, were victorious under Wellington at Talavera, Torres Vedras, and Salamanca.

Napoleon again occupied Vienna, after a march which had been signalized by more or less sanguinary battles and the victories of Regensburg, Landshut, Abensberg, Eckmuhl, etc. His attack on the Archduke Charles, who was situated on the left bank of the Danube, cost him dear, his men under Marshal Lannes holding the villages of Essling and Aspern against the enemy for six hours during the first day's fighting, which was renewed on the following, and ended, after Essling had been lost and retaken five times, by the retreat of the French with a loss of 15,000 men; the Austrians, who remained masters of the field, had suffered more still. The French victory of Wagram, however, was decisive, and the Peace of Vienna, concluded October 14, 1809, mulcted Austria again of a great part of her possessions.

The marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise, the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, in 1810, whereby Napoleon wished to give an appearance of legitimacy to the dynasty he had founded; the birth of his son, who was created king of Rome in his cradle, and the union of Etruria, Holland, East Friesland, Northern Westphalia, and Oldenburg with France between 1808 and 1810—in short, the dependence upon him of most of the European nations, mark the summit of Napoleon's career, and placed him on a pinnacle from which it seemed no power on earth could displace him.

Alexander I.—Alexander I, "The First Gentleman of Europe," had ascended the throne of Russia amid the acclamation of the whole population. He had been the darling grandson of his grandmother, "the only deep passion of Catherine," who herself guided and superintended his education. She even intended to appoint him her successor. During his reign Russia extended her boundaries, and gained a preponderant influence in general European politics. With the accession of Alexander a change in Russia's foreign diplomacy was at once noticeable. The emperor's first action was to conclude a treaty with England. Although the Tsar endeavoured to keep up his relations with France, he soon joined the European coalition against Napoleon. The execution of the duc d'Enghien produced a feeling of indignation at the court of St. Petersburg, and Alexander notified the French government that he expected satisfactory explanations from the First Consul. Napoleon—perhaps rightly, too—replied

that France had demanded no inquiry about the assassination of Paul. The result was an ultimatum addressed to France, which naturally meant war. Russia concluded a treaty with England, by which the latter promised to pay £1,200,000 for every 100,000 men that Russia would furnish. Sweden joined England, and Alexander had an interview with Frederick William III, beside the coffin of Frederick the Great, where they swore to remain faithful to the Treaty of Potsdam. Thus the third European coalition against Napoleon was formed. The Russian army, under Kutusoff, was to join the Austrians at Ulm, which fortress, however, was compelled to surrender. The campaign ended with the battle of Austerlitz, where Napoleon achieved one of his famous victories. The Russians lost 21,000 men and 133 cannons. Austria signed the Treaty of Pressburg, but Russia still continued the war in coalition with Prussia. Having scattered the Prussians at Jena, Napoleon attacked the Russian army, under Benningsen, at Eylau. Benningsen, in spite of great courage, was defeated. Soon afterwards occurred the battle of Friedland, where the Russians lost 20,000 men.

The Treaty of Tilsit.—Alexander sued for peace, and on June 25, 1807, the famous interview took place on a raft in the Niemen. By the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7), Bialostock was added to Russia, and the two emperors promised to help each other in future wars. Alexander also promised to introduce the continental system into Russia, *i. e.* the exclusion of English goods from her ports. This latter clause, as well as Russia's fear that Napoleon might be secretly intending to reconstitute the kingdom of Poland, soon led to an estrangement between the two powers, and war again broke out, which led to Napoleon's famous invasion of Russia in 1812. With an army of 600,000, "la grande armée," the French emperor crossed the Niemen and entered Russia. The Russian troops, commanded by Kutusoff, met the enemy at Borodino (September 7), but were defeated and lost several generals, among them Bagration.

Chapter III

NAPOLEON'S FALL

Napoleon's Fall and the Rearrangement of the European States—The Battle of Leipzig—
The Return of the Bourbons—The Battle of Waterloo—The Vienna Congress.

THE despotic caprice with which Napoleon created and destroyed kingdoms and states showed itself also in the internal constitution of the states he set up. He paid no regard whatever to their historical or statutory development. Striving to establish absolute rule, he left to the legislative assembly and senate only the semblance of political life. The former was seldom called and the latter had scarcely anything more to do than to change the Emperor's decrees on the annexation of territory into the form of Acts. Difficulty in obtaining justice, persecution by the secret police, a vigilant censorship of the press, an intentional suppression of popular development, the maiming of trade by the continental blockade, the raising of the price of all the necessities of life and especially the continued conscription, made his rule over France a very oppressive one, and it was feared and hated by dependent peoples and rulers. In Germany, Prussia suffered the most from France, and it was still more severely treated after Austria's unlucky rising.

The far-reaching consequences of the French defeat quickly developed. Already during the French retreat, had the inflexible Prussian general Von York dared, at the risk of losing his own head, to make an attempt of changing the destiny of the Prussian monarchy. He and the Russians (under General Diebitsch) on December 30, 1812, concluded the Treaty of Neutrality of Tawroggan. For this his king, still in Berlin surrounded by the French, declared that he had forfeited his position; but as Russia, urged by Stein, seemed inclined to make an alliance with Prussia, Frederick William III removed his court to Breslau and ordered preparations for war in all the provinces, and these were made especially in Prussia, where Stein and York incited the people to make sacrifices.

The king hereupon, on February 3, commanded the "calling out of volunteers" without naming the enemy. On February 27 and 28,

he made an alliance at Kalisch with the Emperor Alexander (for the restoration of the Prussian monarchy and the independence of the German nation), and both monarchs after meeting at Spahlitz, on March 15, proceeded to Breslau. Frederick William III on March 17, 1813, issued the proclamation "To my people" for a universal voluntary arming against their oppressor. Everybody who could took up arms, and the rest gave their goods to free the fatherland. The cross on the jerkins of the militia with the device chosen by the kaiser, "With God's help, for king and country," was from this time the sign of Prussian patriots. The order of the Iron Cross was established on March 10.

Napoleon on May 20 and 21 won the battle of Bautzen, but discovered that he had not to do with cabinets alone, but with the spirit of the German people, and at the interposition of Austria made a truce on June 4, to the great discontent of many Germans, particularly as it lasted till July 20.

During this truce not only England but Austria, which had long wavered between Napoleon and the allies, declared for the latter.

When the truce expired, Napoleon, who was at Dresden, saw himself surrounded by the three mighty armies of the allies, but a victory enabled him to maintain this central position.

The Battle of Leipzig.—Meanwhile Bavaria on October 8, by the Treaty of Ried, joined the Germans. But before Napoleon knew this he gave up Dresden and gathered his armies together at Leipzig. Now came the battle of Leipzig, October 16 and 18, 1813, which once and for all destroyed the rule of France over Germany and again united German races in one people.

The allies now offered Napoleon peace if he would be content with the boundary of the Rhine, but the negotiations came to nothing, and as he continued his preparations they decided to attack him in France. The immediate consequences of the battle of Leipzig were the liberation of the right bank of the Rhine, the dissolution of the "Rheinbund," the freeing of Holland (by Bülow), the return of the German princes to their own territories, and the restoration of most of the German fortresses that the French had occupied.

The Return of the Bourbons.—Meanwhile the French army in Spain was attacked and put to flight by an allied force of English and Spaniards, and after his great victory at Vittoria (1813) Wellington stood on the French borders, as also did the armies of the allies. The principal army close to Schwarzenburg near Basel, and Blücher's forces at Mannheim, Caub and Coblenz, pressed over the Rhine into France on New Year's Eve, 1814. On the same day the allies declared in a manifesto that Napoleon had ceased to rule,

whereupon the French Assembly decided on the recall of the Bourbons, and until the return of Louis XVIII established a provisional government with Talleyrand at its head. The plan of Napoleon, who was meanwhile journeying in forced marches to reconquer Paris, was frustrated by the refusal of his generals, and he was compelled to sign an unconditional abdication for himself and his successors and to content himself with the Island of Elba, whither he was banished. He took 400 of his old guardsmen with him. His wife, Marie Louise, received the duchy of Parma. Louis XVIII entered Paris on May 4, and at the instigation of the Emperor Alexander, Talleyrand and Pozzo de Borgos received from him a charter of constitution. The allies restored the boundary of 1792 by the First Peace of Paris, May 30. Similarly the government of the Church was restored to the pope, who had revoked the concordat made with Napoleon in 1814 and left France. The rest of Italy returned to the obedience of its rightful rulers except Naples, which Murat retained because he had offered his aid against the French.

The Battle of Waterloo—The Vienna Congress.—The Monarchical Congress at Vienna opened on November 1, 1814, to regulate the affairs of Europe and especially of Germany. The greatest difficulties were over Poland and Saxony, especially Poland. Finally it was agreed that Russia should receive the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw as a kingdom, and that Prussia should have, for East Friesland and the Margravates of Ausbach and Bayreuth, the smaller half of Saxony, with Posen and some territory on the Rhine. As the congress seemed a failure and the Bonapartists in France were discontented with the restored Bourbons and their evasion of the charter, and the army was beginning to be jealous of the Emperor, Napoleon determined to make a move. He secretly left Elba and landed in the south of France on March 1, 1815, then marched with daily increasing contingents by Grenoble and Lyons, where Marshal Ney went over to him with the royal troops, on to Paris. The overjoyed officers carried him up the steps of the Tuileries. Louis XVIII had fled to Ghent, and nothing stood in the way of the restoration of the empire. Already from Lyons, Napoleon had issued a manifesto promising Europe to maintain peace; but the congress without delay had determined on a general war against him. In Belgium an English or Netherlandish army of 100,000 men was assembled under Wellington, and a Prussian army of 115,000 men under Blucher took up its position on the Maas. But Napoleon also quickly gathered an army of 150,000 men. After the minor successes of Napoleon at Ligny and Quatre Bras (where Duke Frederick William of Brunswick fell), on June

18 the decisive battle of Waterloo (or Belle Alliance, or Mont St. Jean) was fought, in which Wellington sustained Napoleon's attack until Blucher's coming decided the day and ended Napoleon's hundred days' rule. Napoleon returned to Paris, where, at the insistence of the Chamber, he renounced his pretensions to France in favour of his son on June 22. On the approach of the allied monarchs, however, with an Austrian and Russian army, Napoleon fled to Rochefort, intending to take ship for America, but was prevented by the English fleet cruising there. He finally decided to embark on the English ship *Bellerophon*, and threw himself on the generosity of England. Instead, he was brought as the prisoner of Europe to the island of St. Helena and entrusted to English guards with Hudson Lowe as Governor. He died there May 5, 1821. By the second Peace of Paris (November 20, 1815), France was reduced to the boundary of 1790, and bound to pay 700 million francs as war indemnity and for five years to keep up a confederate army (150,000 men) in seventeen frontier fortresses. The Bourbon royalty under Louis XVIII was to be restored and the Bonaparte family banished on pain of death. In this banishment were included all field-marshal and statesmen who had adhered to Napoleon during the Hundred Days, and all regicides, among whom were Fouché, Carnot and Sieyès; Marshal Ney was condemned to death.

By the Vienna Congress Act the European political relations were newly arranged. The proposal made by Prussia at the second Peace of Paris to reunite Lorraine and Alsace with Strasburg to Germany met with the opposition of Russia and England.

Chapter IV

EUROPEAN EVENTS FROM 1815 TO 1830

The Holy Alliance—The July Revolution—Louis Philippe—The Spirit of Unrest in Europe—Young Europe—The Crimean War.

THE Holy Alliance.—The Holy Alliance formed by the monarchs of Austria, Russia and Prussia, subsequently joined by every other State but England and the Papal States, bound its members to mutual support and to responsible rule of their subjects. After the Monarchical Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, France joined this union, but America continued to hold aloof. People became more religious again. The papacy began, through concordats with princes and the restoration of its old institutions, particularly of the Jesuit order, to win back its old influence. Protestantism also revived through the Reformation Jubilee in 1817. The greater part of the common people now hoped for a bettering of their condition. Many states received constitutions after the pattern of the French Charter of 1814, but naturally all did not fulfil the hopes formed of them, and there were several returns to despotic or oligarchic government. In others the new spirit was not satisfied, for instance in France, although Louis XVIII honestly sought to rule by the charter he had given, and the old parties—ultra-royalists, Napoleonists and republicans—once more came forward.

In other Romance countries the strife between the parties of freedom and reaction was yet more violent, and quite suddenly, in 1820–1 the fires of revolution broke out in Spain, Portugal, Naples and Piedmont.

In 1828 the freedom of Greece was established. After a heroic fight of six years (1821–27), the yoke of Turkey, borne for nearly 400 years, was shaken off, and Greece became a kingdom guaranteed by the Great Powers of Europe. Its throne was given to Prince Otto of Bavaria. Greece had previously made an effort for freedom. The liberation of Serbia in 1817 by Michael Obrenowitch, with Russia's help, had roused the Greeks to try an insurrection in

Moldavia and Wallachia, Russia promising help, but it was suppressed by the Turks. Alexander Ypsilanti, its leader, was imprisoned for eight years in a Hungarian fortress.

Too weak to put down the Greek insurrection single-handed, Sultan Mahmud II got help from the pasha of Egypt, whose son Ibrahim landed in Morea in 1825, and after the conquest of Missolonghi in 1826 (which was defended most heroically by Marko Bozzaris), carried on a war of annihilation, until England (under Canning), in union with Russia and France, demanded the emancipation of Greece. The Turks refused, but an unexpected event took place. The naval victory off Navarino (October 20, 1827), in which Codrington destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet, and the landing of a new French army compelled Ibrahim Pasha in 1828 to return to Egypt. The London Conference then proclaimed the freedom of Greece, but the northern boundary of the new kingdom only stretched as far as a line from Arta to Volo, so that it might not become too powerful! Otto, son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, was made hereditary king.

The July Revolution in France and its influence on the rest of Europe.—Scarcely was Europe again quiet, when in France, after the death of Louis XVIII (1824), his brother and successor Charles X, and his minister Polignac, by their entire neglect of the charter, caused the July Revolution, and thereby raised the spirit of revolution in other states.

Charles X (Count of Artois) gradually encouraged a royalist reaction by restoring the censorship, dissolving the National Guards, attracting Jesuits to France, and by his choice of Polignac as a minister, and won thereby a mistrust that was voiced even in the Lower Chamber, and that he in vain hoped to allay by the campaign of Algiers. As even the conquest of Algiers in 1830 had no favourable effect on the elections, he enacted the three fatal ordinances (the suppression of the press, the dissolution of the chamber and the alteration of the manner of election), which after a three days' fight of the royal troops with the National Guards assembled by Lafayette (July 27-29), cost him the throne. He abdicated in favour of the Duke of Angoulême, who resigned his pretension in favour of his nephew the Duke of Bordeaux (called Henry V by the Legitimists) on August 2, 1830, and went into exile at Gorz, where he died in 1836.

The banishment of Charles X and his family from France was, after a provisional government formed by Lafitte, Casimer-Périer, and others, followed by the establishment of the Orleans dynasty on the French throne, and the Constitutionalists declared the son of the Duke of Orleans who had been guillotined in the First Revolution (1793), a descendant of a brother of Louis XIV, hereditary king of France under the title of Louis Philippe. He swore to a new charter on August 7.

Although the government of the "citizen-king" had a quite peaceful foreign policy, and only sought to maintain the existing order at home, the effect of the July Revolution on other states continued, and in August 1830, was felt in the Belgian provinces of the Netherlandish kingdom established by the Vienna Congress Act. Beginning in Brussels there was a general insurrection to throw off the rule of the House of Orange; whereupon the Conference in London determined on the separation of Belgium from Holland and created a neutral kingdom of Belgium, which in 1831 was given to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Holland, however, previously made a vain effort to regain Belgium in a war aided by the French under Gérard, and ended by the conquest of Antwerp, which was defended by the Dutch General Chasse. After long negotiations Holland recognized the new kingdom in 1839.

In Parma, Modena and the Papal States, followed, in 1830, the insurrections of "Young Italy," but they were soon suppressed. Switzerland, however, where similar disturbances led to deep inward broils, now became the home of demagogues, and thereupon the object of European attention.

Even in Germany the spirit of unrest broke out. For the German States the Thirteen Articles of the Treaty brought representative constitutions into question, and it was recognized that it was time to set a limit to absolute power. Nassau in 1815, Weimar in 1816, Bavaria and Baden in 1818, Würtemberg in 1819 and Hesse-Darmstadt in 1820, received constitutions modelled more or less on the French. Other States hesitated, and a fear of giving the people too much freedom began to crop up. The murder of Kotzebue in 1819 occasioned the strongest measures (the Decisions of Carlsbad) against secret associations.

Since the establishment of his government, Louis Philippe's principal care at home had been to keep the balance between Legitimists, Bonapartists and Republicans, and abroad to observe the principle of non-intervention, so as to win the confidence of European States and bring about a general peace.

In Spain King Ferdinand, by the abrogation of the Salic law, had procured the throne for his daughter (by his fourth wife, Maria Christina) Isabella, but on his death the dissatisfied Absolutists called his younger brother, Don Carlos, to be king. Thereupon a civil war broke out between the Carlists and the partisans of Christina, the regent for Isabella. It was the bitterer because the Carlists were warmly supported by the Basques, whose liberties had been attacked. Christina again assembled the Cortes, and thereby won the support of the Liberals; after many bloody fights, her party won the upper hand, and after the Convention of Bergara between the Carlist general

Maroto and the general Espartero, Don Carlos and his family had to fly into France in 1839.

The efforts of Louis Philippe to keep down each party and to rely on the *bourgeoisie*, brought him the hate of the secret societies that were being formed all over France, and of which some desired the overthrow of the existing constitution and others, more dangerous, wished for the complete change of the social order.

In 1840 the ardent and patriotic King Frederick William IV had succeeded to the throne of Prussia, and seemed as if he would really fulfil the great hopes of the people. He made a political amnesty and thereby brought into activity many able men like E. M. Arndt and Jahn. He brought the strife about mixed marriages to an end by an understanding with the Holy See, gave tolerance to the Lutherans, and sought to make the Evangelical Established Church more free from worldly influences. He also sought by the promotion and widening of the *Zollverein* to bring nearer the great achievement of German Unity (1834).

When Frederick William IV in 1847 laid before the united Diet, assembled by writ, February 3, a constitution for the assembled provincial estates which was founded on the difference of classes and maintained the immediate relation of the king with the people, there was such a strong opposition (487 against 107) that its impracticability was clear, and the whole country was thrown into disturbance.

Opposition, in Italy against the rule of cabals, Jesuits and foreigners, in France against the simulation of constitutional rule, corruption and persecution of the press—broke forth with renewed might, influenced by the agitations of Communism and Socialism. In France the February Revolution destroyed the July Monarchy. In Germany and Italy the political and social order was stirred to its depth, and the movement finally broke out in Russia.

In 1842 the sudden death of the Duke of Orleans, the universally respected Crown Prince, shattered Louis Philippe's hopes of establishing his dynasty. Then came disgraceful disclosures in the trial for corruption of General Cubières and the minister Teste, in which several of the court party were implicated. The result was that the people saw hope only in a reform of the elections. Incendiary speeches stirred up the boldest attacks on the system of government. A war of barricades broke out, the people conquered, and Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, and to take refuge in England with his family. In place of the constitutional monarchy, a republic was now established in France in which the Communists (Ledru Rollin and others) and the socialists (Louis Blanc) carried on a government under the

deceiving device of "Liberty, equality, and fraternity," and after the constitution of a national assembly, an outbreak of workers sought by terrible outrages to bring the "Fourth Estate" to power. Only the military dictator Cavaignac could suppress it, and he then ordered the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, as President of the Republic (1848).

In Italy, Germany and Hungary at the same time, not without the secret guidance of the propaganda of "Young Europe," popular movements took place, and made the most unmeasured demands in the name of "Progress." In Italy especially these disturbances were considerable. Sicily rose against Naples, and was only with difficulty subdued. In Rome, where Pope Pius IX had given liberal institutions at his accession, the democracy seized the power, and the pope had to fly to Gaeta until French bayonets put down the Roman rabble, and the pope was enabled to return.

Russia since 1825—Nicholas I, 1825–1855.—After the death of Alexander I in 1825 the nearest heir to the throne, according to the ukase issued by Paul, was Alexander's brother Constantine, at that time Viceroy of Poland. Constantine, however, having married a beautiful Polish woman, Countess Groudzinska, was willing to give up an empire for love. He renounced the crown in favour of his brother Nicholas. In 1822 Constantine's act of renunciation had been deposited in the Ouspensky Sobor in Moscow.

The Polish Insurrection.—From 1815 Poland enjoyed a special charter, granted to her by Alexander. The country had a special army and a special administration, and had begun to prosper again. But towards the end of his reign, Alexander, under the influence of Araktsheyev, seemed to regret the charter. In 1830 Nicholas convoked the Diet, which had not assembled since 1822, and presided over it as King of Poland. But the demands of the deputies to reunite Poland with the ancient Lithuanian provinces offended the autocrat, and he left Warsaw dissatisfied. The discontent in Poland increased, and in November 1830 the revolution broke out. A Russian army entered Poland and approached Warsaw. Paskevich crossed the Vistula and bombarded Warsaw, compelling the capital to surrender (September 1831). Paskevich was appointed Viceroy of Poland, and the last semblance of independence of the unhappy country was crushed. Poland was declared a part of the empire and "order reigned at Warsaw." Their Church, their language, and their distinct administration were taken from the unhappy Poles. The University of Warsaw was suppressed and the educational institutions closed.

The Struggle in Hungary.—Nicholas I, proud of his autocratic power in his own dominions, became a champion of kings against

revolutionary movements in Europe. In 1848 Hungary rose under her great son, Kossuth, and endeavoured to separate from Austria and to constitute herself an independent kingdom. Like a "Don Quixote of Absolutism" Nicholas placed his armies at the disposal of Austria, and Hungary's struggle was in vain. The hope of the Magyars was crushed.

The Crimean War.—Not content, however, to crush revolutions, and to fight for autocratic principles, Nicholas had the proud dream of placing the Russian eagle on the minarets of Tsaregad. But he met the French and English fleets, who were watching his movements, under the walls of Byzantium, and the plans of the proud Tsar were shattered. The fleet of the allies, France and England, entered the Black Sea, and in 1854 they openly declared themselves for Turkey. Odessa was bombarded and Bomarsund in the Baltic taken. The English fleet first tried to blockade Cronstadt, but abandoned this project. The allies then landed in the vicinity of Eupatoria in the Crimea, ready to invest Sebastopol. Menshikov, the Russian general commanding the Crimean army, tried to cut their route and met the enemy at Alma, where he was defeated. The famous siege of Sebastopol now began. The fire was opened on the 17th of October. On the 25th the famous cavalry charge of Balaklava took place. On the 5th of November the sanguinary battle of Inkerman was fought. In the midst of the siege, whilst the allies were making preparations for a new assault, Nicholas died on the 2nd of March 1855.

Chapter V

ENGLAND SINCE 1830

William IV King of England (1830-37)—Liberal Agitation—Vices of the Electoral Legislation—Electoral Reform—Abolition of Slavery—Accession of Queen Victoria—Robert Peel—Richard Cobden—The Manchester School—Peace Policy—The Indian Mutiny—Expedition to China—Constitutions granted to the Colonies—Political Reforms—Gladstone.

GEORGE IV, who died in June 1830, was succeeded by William IV, much less favourable to the Tories than the two preceding kings. The king's support and, of greater importance still, the victory of Liberalism in France, gave new force to the progressive party. Wellington retired and a Whig cabinet with Lord Grey at its head, came into power. Its first act was to bring forward a Bill of electoral reform.

The methods of English elections, a legacy of the Middle Ages, presented at the beginning of this century strange anomalies. Towns like Manchester and Birmingham had no representative and ancient long-decayed boroughs had two. These boroughs were known as "rotten boroughs." There was no general qualification for the possession of a vote. Sometimes it was the privilege of all the inhabitants of a borough who paid taxes, but generally it was the exclusive privilege of small corporations. In 1790, 30 boroughs, of which none had more than 335 inhabitants, elected 60 members of Parliament. Some of them had not 10 electors. Old Sarum had only 12 inhabitants and it elected two representatives. The borough of Chelsea, it is said, had only 3 electors, and Bossiney in Cornwall only one. By this means the aristocracy, owners of a great part of the soil, disposed of almost all the elections. At the end of last century, the Duke of Norfolk nominated 11 members of Parliament, Lord Darlington 7, the Dukes of Rutland and Buckingham 6. The candidates themselves supported the costs of the election, of assembling the electors and taking them to the poll, of remunerating them for their trouble and even hiring the polling booth. Thus there was open corruption. The cost of an ordinary election was from £5,000, but there was an instance at Northampton in which an election contest

cost each of the candidates £30,000, and one election cost Lord Spencer £70,000.

Electoral Reform (1832).—The Reform Bill brought forward by Lord Grey in 1831 did away with the greatest abuses; it disfranchised 60 rotten boroughs; left 47 others with only one member, gave representatives to 27 new towns, and augmented the number of members for London and some of the counties. It gave a vote to all dwellers in towns who paid a rent of £10, and to all dwellers in the country who paid £5, as well as to ministers of religion, school-masters and certain public officials. The Tories made desperate efforts to get this Bill thrown out and succeeded once in the Commons; but the ministry held firm, dissolved the House and appealed to the country. As a result of the elections the Bill passed the Commons but was thrown out by the Lords. The menace of creating new peers, however, to turn the majority, caused the submission of the Lords, and the Bill was passed in 1832.

Abolition of Slavery (1834)—*Poor Law.*—The enfranchisement of negroes had been decreed in the French colonies at the time of the Revolution, and trade in negroes had been forbidden by the Congress of Vienna. Slaves were freed in the English colonies by the law of 1834, which gave an indemnity of £20,000,000 to slave-owners. The Poor Law systematized the old one of Elizabeth. It made municipalities responsible for the indigent; forbade help at home as encouraging idleness, and erected almshouses and workhouses.

Accession of Queen Victoria (1837)—*Success of the Whig Ministry abroad.*—Victoria, niece of William IV, was eighteen years old at his death. Hanover was a male fief and passed to the Duke of Cumberland; but this separation, far from weakening England, allowed her to disengage herself more completely from continental politics and only to consult her own real interests abroad. In 1839 the young queen married Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who had great influence over her and over the development of England.

The Whig cabinet remained in power under the new queen. It satisfactorily terminated several important affairs, such as the insurrection of the French Canadians, who were appeased by liberal concessions, the Opium War, which opened China to English commerce, and finally the Eastern Question, which was settled to English advantage by the Treaties of London and Detroit (1840-41). However, the ministry finally fell, owing to its hesitating home policy, and gave place to a Tory cabinet under Sir Robert Peel (1841).

Establishment of a Tory Ministry under Robert Peel—*Free Trade agitation provoked by Cobden*—*Abolition of Duties on Corn (1846).*—The Conservative ministry adopted a policy of peace and conciliation abroad. Lord Aberdeen, minister for foreign affairs, was, with

Guizot, the principal author of the "entente cordiale" which for many years united the courts of France and England. But it is to his home administration that Sir Robert Peel owed his long and deserved popularity. At the same time that he was suppressing the troubles fomented in Ireland by O'Connell, he obtained by the income tax the necessary funds for abolishing the duties on cereals.

Huskisson in 1826 had taken the first step towards Free Trade, but duties on imported cereals had been retained and the high price of bread caused great privations to the poor. Richard Cobden, a rich manufacturer of Manchester, commenced about 1838 to advocate the total freedom of trade, the abolition of all protection, and especially the tax on cereals. He spread his doctrines by travelling, speaking and writing. Seconded by a large band of disciples who composed the "Manchester School," he formed a league for the abolition of the tax on cereals, and its progress soon disquieted the government. It was then that Sir Robert Peel, with the perspicuity and resolution of a great statesman, saw that resistance was vain, and in 1846 proposed the abolition of all duties on foodstuffs; as a compensation he remitted certain taxes that weighed heavily on the landed interest for the keeping up of roads. The law was passed and certainly saved England from the revolution of 1848, but the old Tories bore a grudge against the minister who was its author. They joined the Whigs, and in the discussion of a Bill for Ireland, put him into a minority. Peel resigned, but in triumph. The whole House applauded when, having announced his resignation, he added, "Perhaps I shall leave a name that will be sometimes pronounced with expressions of good-will in the homes of those whose lot in the world is work, who gain their bread by the sweat of their brow, and who will remember me when they repair their forces by abundant food, free from taxation, and all the more sweet that no sentiment of injustice will add its bitterness."

The triumph of Free Trade, directed by Richard Cobden, did not end here. In 1849 the Manchester School obtained the repeal of the Navigation Act; in 1860 it won a still more complete victory by the conclusion of a commercial treaty with France.

Peace Policy of the Manchester School.—After the Crimean War England took very little interest in European affairs. Despite the family ties between Queen Victoria and the courts of Denmark and Hanover and of national traditions, she viewed without protest the conquest of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 and the absorption of Hanover by Prussia in 1866. Under the influence of the Manchester School England was mostly concerned with economic considerations, and only recovered some of her ancient energy when the future of

her commerce seemed at stake, as in the revolt of the Sepoys in India in 1857, or the war in China in 1860.

The Indian Mutiny.—The Sepoys, a body of native troops, organized and armed in the European fashion, constituted in 1857 the principal support of the English power in India. Their revolt, stimulated by the oppressions of the India Company and the preaching of the Brahmins, threatened disastrous consequences. The war was carried on desperately on both sides, but resulted in the victory of the English, thanks to Sir Henry Lawrence, who sustained the memorable siege of Lucknow, and to General Havelock, who defeated Nana Sahib, the leader of the revolt (1857). Still the insurrection was only completely put down by Sir Colin Campbell in the last months of 1858. The lesson was not lost. England understood that she could no longer leave in the hands of a body of financiers an empire of 200,000,000 people. The India Company was suppressed, and the administration of the English possessions was given to a minister for India residing in London and to a viceroy resident at Calcutta (1858). In 1876 the queen of England was proclaimed Empress of India.

Expedition to China (1859–60)—Wars in Abyssinia and in the Country of the Ashantis.—The expedition to China of 1857 to 1860, undertaken in concert with France, allowed England to develop her commerce and influence in the extreme East. That to Abyssinia in 1867–68, to punish the insults of the Negus or Emperor of Abyssinia, Theodoros, terminated in the death of that prince and the taking of Magdala, his capital; and the Ashanti expedition, skilfully conducted by General Wolseley across the forests and marshes of the coast of Guinea, resulted in the predominance of English influence in those parts. These easy successes did not prevent England from showing perhaps a little too much complaisance to more redoubtable enemies: in 1871 she let Russia infringe the Treaty of Paris of 1856; in 1873 she agreed to pay the United States an indemnity of 75 millions francs for the losses to American commerce during the War of Secession through the Southern cruisers being allowed to arm in the ports of Great Britain.

Liberal Constitutions granted to the Colonies.—To satisfy the North American colonies, whom an arbitrary rule might have thrown into the arms of the United States, England unhesitatingly granted them an amount of self-government that was equal to semi-independence. The Dominion or State of Canada was constituted in 1867, and subsequently charters of equal liberality were granted to Cape Colony and Australia, which, since the discovery of gold in 1852, had developed with marvellous rapidity. Each of these colonies had its own government, minister and Parliament. A governor with

strictly limited powers was the sole representative of the mother-country.

Political and Administrative Reforms—Mr. Gladstone.—All the internal reforms of this time show a movement towards democracy, and also the political sense of the ruling classes, wise enough to renounce ancient privileges before the outbreak of revolution. The merit was principally owing to a statesman whose generous interest in social justice, even more than his talents as an orator and financier, placed him in the front rank of English politicians of the nineteenth century; that was Mr. Gladstone, leader of the Whig party. Already in 1867 he had forced the Tory ministry with Disraeli at its head, to accept the electoral reform that gave the vote to citizens paying a rent of £10 in towns, £12 in the country; in 1869, when prime minister, he disestablished the Protestant Church of Ireland. Its revenues, out of all proportion to the number of its adherents in a Catholic country, were applied to the maintenance of schools and hospitals. In the following year he brought in the Land Bill to guarantee the rights of Irish tenants against the rapacity of the great proprietors. At the same time he passed measures to enforce elementary education and voting by ballot. He was accused, however, of neglecting English interests abroad and fell from power in 1874. The general election of 1878 again gave him a majority in the House of Commons.

Chapter VI

FRANCE AND ITALY SINCE 1850

Napoleon III and the Unification of Italy.

Louis Napoleon—The *coup d'état*—Napoleon III—The Unification of Italy—Magenta and Solferino—The Treaty of Villafranca—Garibaldi—Victor Emmanuel—The Kingdom of Italy—The Third French Republic.

LOUIS NAPOLEON, who was now president of the French Republic, began to plot against the Republic, and with the assistance of the Bonapartists mounted the throne as emperor. The middle classes and the clergy were on his side, and by a *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, he dissolved the National Legislative Assembly, arrested the leaders, and then granting universal suffrage, asked the nation to proceed to a new election. He was elected president for ten years. This was the first step towards the establishment of a new empire. Napoleon journeyed through France and everywhere met with an enthusiastic reception. At Bordeaux he pronounced the famous phrase, "L'Empire c'est la paix." He was made emperor, just a year after the *coup d'état*, under the name of Napoleon III (1852). Although he had promised peace, the emperor was engaged during his reign in constant wars. He felt that in order to establish his dynasty he must cover himself with glory and renew the victorious days of his uncle Napoleon I. And thus soon after the Crimean War (1853-56) he participated in the Austro-Sardinian War (1859).

The Unification of Italy.—Already at the Treaty of Paris, which terminated the Crimean War, the representatives of France and Sardinia demanded that Austria should withdraw her armies from Middle Italy. Austria held not only Lombardy and Venice, but also Parma, Modena and a portion of the Papal States. Austria naturally refused, and the king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel (1849-78), who was generally looked upon as the future liberator and unifier of Italy, and his able and gifted minister Cavour, decided upon the necessity of a war with Austria. Sardinia was, however, too weak to undertake it alone, and Count Cavour, therefore, obtained the alliance of

the emperor of the French. Austria now demanded that Sardinia should disarm, and when the request was refused the war broke out. Napoleon III led his armies against the Austrian forces and the Austrians suffered several defeats, especially at Magenta and Solferino. Francis Joseph entered upon negotiations for peace, and much to the disappointment of the Italians Napoleon signed the Treaty of Villafranca. Lombardy was given over to Sardinia, Savoy and Nice to France, whilst Austria retained Venice. Soon afterwards Toscana, Parma and Modena, deposing the respective dukes, their former rulers, united themselves to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel.

In the following year the Italian hero Garibaldi, at the head of a band of volunteers, sailed for Sicily, where a revolt had arisen against the king of Naples, Francis II. He drove the armies of the Neapolitan king from the island, assumed the title of dictator, and then proceeding into Calabria, marched upon Naples and was received by the inhabitants with enthusiasm. Sicily and Naples were now added to the kingdom of Sardinia, Garibaldi having renounced his title of dictator and recognized Victor Emmanuel as his sovereign and king of Italy.

During the Prusso-Austrian War Italy joined Prussia, and after the battle of Sadowa was rewarded with the city of Venice. Rome, however, was still in the possession of the French, but the Eternal City was soon added to the new Italian kingdom. Napoleon was compelled to recall his troops from the Papal States when the Franco-German War broke out, and Victor Emmanuel at once seized the Eternal City (July 2, 1871). Rome was declared the capital of the kingdom of Italy, the temporal power of the popes had come to an end, and the Papal States which existed since the days of Pepin and Charlemagne now formed part of the newborn kingdom. The pope retired to the Vatican, and had to be satisfied with his spiritual authority over the Catholic world.

In France Napoleon III had in the meantime declared war with Prussia, and the Franco-German War had broken out. When the news of the Emperor's defeat at Sedan reached Paris the indignant population deposed the Emperor and proclaimed a Republic. When the city was compelled to capitulate and peace was concluded with Prussia, a revolt of the Communists, discontented with the shameful terms of the treaty, broke out, which, however, the government after a short reign of terror succeeded in quelling. The third French Republic was now established and M. Thiers elected first president (1871-73).

Chapter VII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Austria and Prussia—William I—Moltke—The Franco-German War—Causes of the War—Germany's Victory and Triumph—Bazaine—Deposition of Napoleon—The German Empire—The Kaiser—Prussia's Power—The Alliance of the Three Emperors—Austria-Hungary.

LIBERAL measures and reforms in Austria were the result of the battle of Solferino. Francis Joseph gave his government a constitutional form. The Italian wars increased the old existing rivalry between Austria and Prussia. Each was endeavouring to occupy a preponderating position among the German States and to push out the other. Like Sparta and Athens in Ancient Greece, these two modern states were striving after the hegemony. Whilst Austria was busily engaged in suppressing the revolution in Hungary, Prussia had formed the German Union, which was joined by several German minor states under Prussia's lead. Austria was alarmed, and the growing hostility soon found vent in a war between the rival parties. The immediate cause of the war was a dispute concerning the duchy of Schleswig and Holstein. In Prussia William I had ascended the throne after the death of his brother, Frederick William IV, whose prime minister, Otto von Bismarck, decided to settle the question between Austria and Prussia by "blood and iron." On Austria's side was Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and some minor German States, whilst Prussia was joined by Italy. The Austrian regiments were not a match for the disciplined Prussian army under the command of Moltke. The Austrians lost battle after battle, and at last Prussia carried off a brilliant victory at Sadowa in Bohemia. This battle decided the dispute. The Emperor was compelled to sue for peace, and by the Treaty of Prague (1866) Austria was excluded from the German Union. Austria had ceased to interfere in German affairs. Prussia annexed Hanover, Nassau and the free town of Frankfurt, and reorganized the Northern States into the North German Union (1867) under her own leadership.

The Franco-German War (1870-71).—The marvellous growth

and development of Prussia's power and her successes in effecting German unity awoke the jealousy of France, who was afraid of losing her influence in Western Europe. Napoleon III had intended to interfere on Austria's behalf, but the war was terminated before he had time to take a decisive step. The Emperor nevertheless made preparations for a struggle with Prussia. He decided to put a stop to the further increase of her power. An occasion for such a struggle and a pretext for a war was soon found. The vacant throne of Spain, where the Queen Isabella had been deposed, was offered to Leopold, a prince of the House of Hohenzollern. Napoleon protested, and declared war, although Leopold had declined the Spanish crown. Thanks to the diplomacy of Bismarck, Prussia was joined by all the German States with the exception of Austria. This war soon proved the superiority of Prussia's military organization over that of France. The Prussian armies quickly invaded France and defeated the French at Woerth, Spichern and Metz, where the large French army was imprisoned, and at Gravelotte. Napoleon himself moved forwards to relieve Marshal Bazaine, but the Emperor was surrounded at Sedan, defeated and made prisoner. The victorious Prussian army now advanced upon Paris, laid siege to the city and forced it after several months to capitulate. The French Republican Government—Napoleon having been deposed—now signed a treaty by which Prussia retained Alsace and a portion of Lorraine, and France had to pay an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs, and to consent that German armies should occupy French territory until the sum was paid. Prussia had thus again come out triumphant from a memorable struggle and nothing stood in the way of her absolute supremacy in Germany. The German States of the south now also joined the German Confederation. The enthusiasm in Germany was great, and in recognition of Prussia's triumphs the king of Bavaria suggested that the title of Emperor be given to the king of Prussia, and that this dignity should remain hereditary in the Hohenzollern family. This title was therefore conferred upon William I at Versailles during the siege of Paris. Thus the new German Empire was established on January 18, 1871.

The rearrangement of the German Empire in favour of Prussia did not put an end to the small states, kingdoms, duchies and free towns that had survived the events of 1866; but it ended their existence as independent Powers. The Kaiser alone had the disposition of the military forces of the Confederation and the direction of diplomacy. He was assisted by a chancellor, primate and two assemblies: the *Bundesrath*, or council of princes, members of the Confederation, and the *Reichstag*, a national assembly elected by universal suffrage. His power, nearly absolute in Prussia itself, was

supreme in the rest of the Empire, in spite of the prerogative retained by individual sovereigns, and of the administrative autonomy, the last vestige of the ancient independence of the secondary states. The near future will no doubt see all Germany absorbed by Prussian centralization as its forces were by the Prussian army. As for Alsace-Lorraine, it was not officially annexed to Prussia: under the name of "Imperial territory" it was declared the joint possession of all the German States. It was administered by a governor-general or *stadthalter*, the direct representative of the Kaiser. As a fact, it has never ceased, since the Treaty of Frankfort, to be under an arbitrary rule and in a state of siege.

Preponderating Power of Prussia in Europe—The Alliance of the Three Emperors.—The German Empire with its 45 million inhabitants, its army of more than 1½ million soldiers, and the prestige of its late victories, became an influential power in Europe. At the same time its greatness roused jealousies, and to prevent a coalition of other powers Bismarck, from 1871, sought to form round Germany a solid band of alliances. In 1873 he succeeded in forming that "Alliance of the Three Emperors," the masterpiece of his diplomatic genius, which placed Russia and Austria in the orbit of the dangerous progress of the Prussian power. Already the German chancellor had been able, after 1871, through the imprudent manifestations of French Catholics in favour of the temporal power, to alienate Italy from France.

Austria-Hungary.—Austria, after its defeat of 1866, could not long refuse the satisfaction that the national Hungarian party demanded. The hostility of Hungary, oppressed since 1848, even imperilled the continuance of the Hapsburg monarchy. In 1867, the Count de Beust became minister of the Emperor Francis Joseph, and inaugurated the twofold constitution of Austria-Hungary. The Austrian provinces were divided into two groups almost completely separated from each other by the Seitha, a tributary of the Danube. The western group constitutes the Empire of Austria, the eastern the Kingdom of Hungary. They really form two states, each having its own constitution, minister and Parliament: in one, the Hungarian Diet with its tables, or chamber of Magnates and of representatives; in the other, the Austrian Reichsrath, composed of a Chamber of Nobles and a Chamber of Deputies. The sovereign bears the title of Emperor at Vienna, of King at Buda-Pest. Only affairs common to both, such as war, finance and diplomacy, are carried on by a common minister, assisted by delegates from the Parliaments at Vienna and Buda-Pest.

This reconciliation of the House of Hapsburg with its ancient subjects, confirmed by the oath of Francis Joseph as king of

Hungary, June 8, 1867, restored something of its ancient vigour, but the dual character of the state has always been a source of weakness to Austria-Hungary. In 1870, held in check by Russia, she could not profit by circumstances to reconquer her old position in Germany. Afterwards she resigned herself to the ascendancy of the conqueror of Sadowa. Francis Joseph entered into the Alliance of the Three Emperors, and Austria-Hungary, at the instigation of Bismarck, adopted a policy in the East that was bound to bring her into conflict with Russia. This fact seems to indicate the definite abandonment by Austria of her pretensions to the domination of Germany.

Chapter VIII

SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND SWITZERLAND

Spain, Portugal and Switzerland.

Amadeus—Alfonso XII—Revolt of the Negroes—Switzerland—The St. Gothard Tunnel—Belgium and Holland—Leopold I—Leopold II—The Scandinavian States—Greece—Russia—Alexander II—Alexander III.

THE secondary states, as a result of the new importance of the Great Powers in last century, very rarely interfered in European concerns. Spain spent in internal discords an energy which, better employed, would no doubt have given her her old and rightful influence in the councils of Europe. She saw, after 1868, the fall of Queen Isabella, through an army conspiracy; the interregnum of Marshal Prim, during which there was elaborated between Prussia and Spain that intrigue of the Hohenzollern candidature which was the occasion of the Franco-German war; the reign of a son of Victor Emmanuel, Amadeus, soon compelled to abdicate (1871-73); the proclamation of the Republic which was overturned in the following year by a military "pronunciamento"; and the reign of Alfonso XII, son of Isabella, who died prematurely in 1885. In 1872, profiting by the divisions of the constitutional party, the pretender Don Carlos, with the aid of the Basque provinces and of the absolutists, renewed the civil war, which desolated the north of Spain until the commencement of 1876. Finally at Cuba a revolt of the negroes, lasting from 1868 to 1878, through the intrigues of the United States, covered with ruins this beautiful island, the most precious relic of the ancient Spanish Empire in America.

Wiser than her turbulent neighbour, Portugal pursued her peaceful course. Switzerland did the same, although after 1848, the progress of the radical party favoured the development of the central power and threatened the future destruction of the cantons. Moreover the constant changes in Europe, and the daily increasing armaments of the Great Powers, which rendered peace so precarious, and the piercing of the St. Gothard tunnel (opened in 1882), which established a communication between Germany and Italy through Swiss territory,

forced the peaceful Confederation to develop its military institutions to ensure its neutrality being respected in the event of a great European war.

Belgium and Holland.—Another neutral country, Belgium, thanks to the prudence of its two successive princes, Leopold I (1831–65) and his son Leopold II (1865–1909), and to the wisdom of the Catholic and liberal parties, enjoyed continuous prosperity. Holland, on the contrary, after the tremendous extension of Prussian power, could not enjoy the same tranquillity; the small realm of the Netherlands felt that its beautiful ports and the richness of its colonial empire were an object of eager covetousness to its neighbour.

The Scandinavian States, in these latter years, carried out important constitutional changes. In 1866 Denmark established universal suffrage. In the same year Sweden modified, in a liberal direction, the constitution of its Diet, substituting for the four orders, or Estates of feudal origin, a division into two Chambers invested with equal power. After this reform a law of 1869 made a new step towards religious liberty by abolishing almost completely the last privileges of the Lutheran Church.

Greece, after the Treaty of Adrianopolis which gave her her independence, struggled powerlessly within the narrow limits assigned her at this date. In 1863, after a revolution that displaced King Otto of Bavaria, she accepted the English candidate, George of Denmark, and received in recompense the Ionian Islands which the Treaties of Vienna had placed under the British protectorate. The Greeks, nevertheless, viewed with disquietude the progress or certain races lately freed from Turkish domination, fearing to find in them rivals on the longed-for day when the question of the succession of the “sick man” should be opened. The Servians, Roumanians and Montenegrins had become practically independent since the Treaty of Paris in 1856. Following their example, the Bulgarians, roused from their long torpor by the active propaganda of the agents of Russia, commenced in 1875 to claim their independence: their revolts were to become the occasion of that second Eastern war which in 1878 enfranchised them from the rule of the Turks.

Russia.—In Russia Nicholas I was succeeded by his son Alexander II (1855–1881). In 1861, on the 19th of February Alexander signed the Act of Emancipation of the Serfs. In 1863 another Polish insurrection broke out which was soon quelled, and ended with Poland’s losing the last vestige of her independence. In 1877 the Turco-Russian war broke out. The siege of Plevna has become famous. The treaty of Berlin put an end to the war, but Russia received only an inadequate compensation for her struggle. Bismarck and Beaconsfield were rightly afraid of Russia’s influence, and Russia

has never forgotten this interference. Alexander II was assassinated in 1881 and was succeeded by his son Alexander III (1881-1894). During his reign all the reforms of his father were abandoned, and an era of reaction commenced. No war troubled Russia's external peace, but in the country the discontent increased. Nihilist plots and massacres of the Jews—there is always a connection between the two—were frequent. Austria, Germany, and Italy formed the Triple Alliance, and friendly relations were established between France and Russia. The French fleet, under Admiral Gervais, visited Cronstadt in 1891, and the Russian fleet, under Admiral Avellan, visited Toulon, and an enthusiastic reception was accorded to the Russian officers in Paris. The Siberian railway was inaugurated in 1894. The Russification of the Western Provinces, commenced under Nicholas and discontinued by Alexander II, was again attempted. The University of Dorpat was Russianized, and in 1890 it had to conduct its course in Russian. Alexander III married Dagmar, a sister of Queen Alexandra. The Emperor, whose health had been failing for some time, expired in Livadia, in the Crimea, on the 1st of November, 1894. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Nicholas II.

Chapter IX

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States—Rapid Progress.

The War of Secession—Rivalry of the North and the South—Abraham Lincoln—Northern Victory—Growing Prosperity of the United States.

IN less than a century the population increased from 3 to 50 millions, and it was impossible to see the limit of its prosperity. This was due to the putting in cultivation of an immense tract of fertile territory, to the working of the gold and silver mines of California and Nevada, to the petrol and oil of the basin of the Ohio, and to the constant influx of enterprising European emigrants.

The acquisition of Louisiana, bought from France in 1803; of Florida, acquired from Spain in 1826; of Texas and New California taken from Mexico in 1848, and of Alaska ceded by Russia for seven million dollars in 1867, greatly extended the territory of the United States, and this was enormously increased by the colonization of the immense valley of the Mississippi.

Causes of the War of Secession—Rivalry of the North and South—The Slave Question.—But the progress of the United States nearly came to a standstill during the second half of last century. The danger appeared in the shape of a war between the North and the South. One of the chief causes of the war was the quarrel between the democrats and republicans. The first wished each state to have self-government, the second desired central control. The democrats dominated in the South, the republicans in the North. In the North moreover was a population of small proprietors, sailors and commercial classes, with democratic institutions and of Puritan religion. The North desired protection in commerce, while the rich planters of the South, drawing their revenues from the exportation of cotton, tobacco, and indigo, demanded free trade and opposed the commercial tyranny of the ports of the North. But the question of slavery was the most important. The Southern planters cultivated their lands by legions of negroes, and it was to them a matter of life and death to retain

slavery. The Northern States, only employing free workers, reprovod the institution as contrary to morality and humanity.

Election of President Lincoln (1860)—Rising of the Slave-owners (1861).—The Northern States were the more populous, but the Southern, thanks to an electoral system completely in their favour, dominated in the government and gave the planters the right to seize their fugitive slaves even in states where slavery did not exist. John Brown was hanged in Virginia in 1859 for preaching abolition, and on the election of the abolitionist, Abraham Lincoln, as president in 1860, South Carolina and ten other states separated themselves from the Union and formed a new federation with its capital at Richmond in Virginia, and Jefferson Davis as its president. The capture of Fort Sumter, near Charleston, by the Confederates on April 12, 1861, was the commencement of the war.

The War of Secession (1861-65).—Beauregard, the Southern general, won the first victory of Bull's Run and threatened Washington. President Lincoln, however, established conscription and equipped five hundred warships. He then blockaded the Southern ports and occupied the line of the Mississippi, and finally arranged converging attacks on Richmond, the centre of the insurrection. In 1862 New Orleans, the great port of the South, was taken by General Butler; but the Southern pirate vessels, of which the most famous was the *Alabama*, did incalculable harm to the commerce of the Federalists and were more or less encouraged by England. The Federalists found formidable barriers on the Mississippi in the fortresses of Vicksburg and Port Hamilton, and in the east General MacClellan, who was advancing on Richmond, had to return to defend Washington, newly threatened by General Lee. Lee was, however, conquered at the battle of Antietam.

Northern Victory—Death of Lincoln (1865).—In the campaign of 1863 Lee, who had again ventured north of the Potomac, was completely conquered at the battle of Gettysburg, while General Grant took Vicksburg and Port Hamilton and then became master of the Mississippi. This isolated the Southern States. In 1864 four Northern armies marched from different points on Richmond. One of these armies, under Sherman, left Tennessee and after a march of eight months arrived at Savannah, then went north and took Charleston, then joined Grant and marched on Richmond. The last Confederate generals, Johnston and Lee, defeated at Petersburg (April 2, 1865), evacuated Richmond and a few days later were forced to lay down arms. On January 31, 1865, the Northern Congress voted the abolition of slavery. Lincoln had just been elected by an immense majority president of the Republic, when he was assassinated by Wilkes Booth, a fanatical partisan of the cause of the South (April 12, 1865).

Growing Prosperity of the United States.—The Southern States were soon restored to their rights and the quarrel was forgotten. The public debt, created for the expenses of war, was partly paid off, and in 1869 the railway from New York to San Francisco was finished. In 1876, the centenary of the Republic was celebrated by the Universal Exhibition at Philadelphia.

Chapter X

SURVEY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY SINCE 1870

1. GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND RUSSIA.—The German Empire—Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor—William II—The Kulturkampf—Germany's Naval Policy—Austria—Dual Government—Discontent of the Slavs—Russia—Nicholas II—The Japanese War—The Duma.
2. THE LIBERAL COUNTRIES.—England—The Peaceful Political Revolution—Aristocracy and Democracy—Gladstone—Home Rule—Parnell—Tariff Reform—Veto Bill—Edward VII—Transvaal War—George V—France—Third Republic—Commune—French Presidents—Reforms—Italy—Humbert I—Crispi—Triple Alliance—War with Abyssinia—Spain—Political Revolutions—Alfonso XII—Alfonso XIII—Portugal—King Carlos—Republic proclaimed.
3. THE SECONDARY EUROPEAN STATES.—Switzerland—Centralization—Referendum—Militia—Belgium—Leopold II—Holland—Wilhelmina—Scandinavian Countries—Separation of Sweden and Norway—Haakon VII.

I. GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND RUSSIA

GERMANY.—Since 1871 Germany forms a federative Empire, the hereditary Emperor being the King of Prussia. He is assisted by his chancellor, whom he appoints himself, by the *Reichstag*, elected by the people, and by the *Bundesrath*, representing the confederate princes. Bismarck was the first chancellor of the new Empire. But Germany is above all a military State. Among the parties hostile to the Government two have played a prominent part since 1871. They are the Catholics and the Socialists. It was Bismarck who had started the war against the Catholics, the enemies of a Protestant Empire, a war which he called the *Kulturkampf*, or struggle for civilization. But whilst the *Kulturkampf* is now almost forgotten, Socialism is making rapid progress.

William I died in 1888 (March 9), and, after the short reign of his son Frederick III (1888, March 9–June 15), William II ascended the throne. The present Emperor compelled Bismarck to abdicate (he died 1898, July 30), appointing in his place Caprivi as chancellor. The latter has been succeeded in office by von Hohenlohe (1894), von Bülow and Bethmann-Hollweg. In reality, however, William II is his own chancellor. He has concentrated his activity and his indefatigable energy upon the economic development of Germany,

her colonial expansion, and, above all, the constitution of a powerful fleet. "Germany's future lies on the waves," says William II, and he is naturally jealous of England's naval supremacy.

Austria.—After the defeat of Sadowa (1866) and the Treaty of Prague the Emperor Francis Joseph entrusted Herr von Beust with the task of reorganizing the Austrian Constitution. The result was the Austro-Hungarian dualism. The monarchy of the Hapsburgs thus consists of two kingdoms equal in rights, each having a separate capital, government and parliament, but both confiding the crown to the same sovereign. The Emperor thus became King of Hungary and was crowned in Buda-Pest. This system of dual government has proved advantageous to Hungary, but is the cause of discontent among the many other races of the Empire, especially the Slavonic, and hence the continual trouble and danger threatening the dynasty of the Hapsburgs, and which will become intense after the death of the aged Emperor. For Austria is not a nation but a state.

Russia.—The reign of Nicholas II, which many had hailed as an era of peace and prosperity for Russia, has, on the contrary, been full of disaster. An unhappy war with Japan (1904), which ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth (October 1905), put a stop to Russia's expansion in the north-east of Asia. At home the war brought about a social upheaval, and a revolution was threatened. To avert the danger the Tsar convened a representative assembly, the Duma, in 1906. Twice, however, the Duma has been dissolved because the members showed a tendency to exercise a control which the Tsar and his advisers denied them. The third Duma seems to have resigned itself to play the part of a consulting instead of a legislative body.

2. THE LIBERAL EUROPEAN STATES

England.—In England the long and prosperous reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) witnessed an age of reforms at home and of great activity abroad.

Peacefully a political revolution was brought about, and democracy took the place of aristocracy in the government of the country. Many reforms were the result, such as the Electoral Reform Acts of 1884-85 and the reconstruction of the electorate, which raised the number of voters to 7,000,000, the formation of Trade Unions, the Secret Ballot (1872) and the Education Acts. The question of Home Rule for Ireland, for which Parnell, leader of the Irish group in the House of Commons, energetically agitated, proved a continual cause of political trouble. Gladstone, the "Grand Old Man," became the champion of Home Rule, but he was defeated by the new Unionist party. Parnell

died in 1891, but the Irish succeeded in carrying through the Land Act in 1903. The Irish question, however, is still awaiting solution. In recent years two questions have dominated the political life of Great Britain—Tariff Reform, or the abolition of Free Trade, a measure proposed by Chamberlain, and the restriction of the powers of the House of Lords. The agitation in favour of the latter measure led to the passing of the Veto Bill, which is another step towards the triumph of democracy.

Queen Victoria died on January 22 and was succeeded by her son Edward VII (1901–1910), who was instrumental in introducing a peaceful note into European diplomacy. He fully deserved the title of Peacemaker.

Abroad England continued her policy of colonial expansion. After having established her power in Egypt, she crushed the Empire of the Mahdi and took possession of the Nile Basin (Anglo-French Convention of 1899). And the Transvaal War, which broke out in 1900, ended with the conquest and annexation of the two Boer Republics, Transvaal and the Orange River. Edward VII died in 1910, and his son George V ascended the throne.

France.—The Third French Republic dates from the revolution of September 7, 1870, when—in face of the disasters of the Franco-German war—the people demanded the deposition of the Emperor (Napoleon III—died at Chislehurst in 1873). A provisional government, that of National Defence, was instituted in the place of the Empire. In February 1871 the National Assembly met at Bordeaux and elected Thiers as chief of the Executive Power. But the sufferings of the siege, famine and other miseries had excited the Parisians, and a conflict between them and the government was the result. The Commune was proclaimed on March 18, and Paris declared a free city.

The government of the Republic, which was holding its sittings at Versailles, sent the regular troops against the Communards, and the insurrection was crushed. Thiers, who had joined Gambetta and the Republicans against the Monarchists, remained President of the Third Republic until 1873, when he was made to resign—and Marshal MacMahon elected in his place. Since MacMahon, who resigned in 1879, the office of President of the French Republic has been occupied in succession by Jules Grévy, Sadi Carnot, Casimir-Périer, Félix Faure, Emile Loubet, and Armand Fallières. The reactionary party, however, has not disarmed, although its endeavours to overthrow the Republic have failed. One of the principal crises which threatened the Republic was that of Boulangism. General Boulanger had become so popular that for a moment it was thought he would form a new government. The parliamentary Republic,

however, triumphed. Many reforms, social and religious, have been the result of the activity of the Republican government, one of the chief being the separation of Church and State (in 1905). Abroad, France has been steadily pursuing the policy of colonial expansion. In 1896 Madagascar was made a French colony.

Italy.—Victor Emmanuel II was succeeded by his son Humbert I in 1878. Humbert was assassinated at Monza in 1900, and his son Victor Emmanuel III ascended the throne. From 1870–81 Italy, still occupied with the work of unification, observed a peaceful policy. But from 1881–96 Crispi inaugurated a policy of ambition and of colonial expansion. He brought about the Triple Alliance, a treaty between Germany, Austria and Italy, hardly advantageous for his own country. The result of Crispi's megalomaniac policy was the war with Abyssinia, which ended with the disaster of the Italians at Adowa, 1896.

Spain.—Political revolutions have marked the contemporary history of Spain. In 1868 Queen Isabella was expelled, and a democratic monarchy established. The throne was offered to Amedeo, third son of Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy. The king abdicated in 1873, and a republic was proclaimed, but the royalists soon succeeded in bringing back to the throne Alfonso XII, son of Isabella, 1874. The economic and financial crises, however, still continued in Spain. A colonial crisis brought about a disastrous war with America (1898), a war which cost Spain the possession of Cuba and the Philippine Islands. Alfonso XII died in 1885, and, during the minority of his posthumous son and heir Alfonso XIII, the Queen Mother ruled the country. She gave proofs of prudence and tact during the period of her Regency. In 1890 universal suffrage was introduced, and in 1906 the Conference of Algeciras concluded the conflict of Spain and France in Morocco.

Portugal.—Just as in Spain, the constitutional government of Portugal did not work quite smoothly. The incapacity of the kings and ministers, financial and other troubles brought the monarchy into discredit and gave the Republicans easy play. In 1908 the first attempt was made to abolish the monarchy, but the revolutionaries only succeeded in assassinating King Carlos and his eldest son. But in 1910 a new revolution broke out. The young king, Manoel II, was obliged to flee the country, and the Portuguese Republic was proclaimed.

3. THE SECONDARY EUROPEAN STATES

Switzerland.—In Switzerland the policy of centralization was continued in recent years. In 1874 direct government of the citizens

was introduced. By the *referendum* the people are enabled to exercise their control over the laws voted by the Federal government. The people also enjoy the right of legislative initiative. A proposition made by one individual and signed by 50,000 of his fellow-citizens must be submitted to the country for ratification. Although Switzerland is recognized as a neutral country, the people are anxious to develop a defensive organization, preferring, however, the system of militia to that of a permanent army.

Belgium.—The long reign of Leopold II was a prosperous one for Belgium. Thanks to the peace assured by the state of neutrality of the country, the prosperity of Belgium has been continually increasing. In the internal history of the country one has to notice the struggle for political supremacy which is still going on between the two political parties, the Liberals and the Catholics. In recent years the Socialists have gained considerable influence. In 1893 the Liberal party introduced universal suffrage—mitigated by the plural vote. The acquisition of the Congo State has given rise to a colonial question which is occupying the Belgians. Leopold II died in December 1909, and his nephew, Prince Albert, ascended the throne.

Holland.—Three questions have of late occupied the government of Holland. The suffrage question, the military question and that of public instruction. King William III died in 1890 and was succeeded by his daughter Wilhelmina, to whom the Dutch people are extremely devoted.

The Three Scandinavian Countries.—Denmark, Sweden and Norway, after having played an important part in the earlier history of Europe, are now considered as quite secondary states. Sweden and Norway were united under the same sovereign, but this union came to an end in 1905, after a long conflict. The Storting decided the separation of the two countries, and Prince Charles of Denmark, son-in-law of King Edward VII, was elected King of Norway, under the name of Haakon VII. In Denmark a long constitutional conflict between the Folkething and the Sovereign came to an end in 1894. The three Scandinavian kingdoms are now absolutely independent of each other.

Chapter XI

GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION

Religious Life—Political Life—Intellectual Life—Literature, Philosophy, Art.

GREECE constitutes to-day one of the smallest European states, and its extent was not larger in ancient times. And yet the name of Hellas occupies a foremost place in the history of Europe and of the entire world. Nations and peoples have disappeared from the arena of history, leaving only a shadowy and fleeting remembrance, whilst that of Greece is everlasting. Europe still looks upon Hellas as the cradle of civilization, and upon the Greeks as the real teachers of the Occidental world. To them belonged the honour of having civilized the West in the days of antiquity. In politics and in science the disciples have superseded the masters, but the latter are still the masters as far as philosophy, art and literature are concerned. In the earlier portion of this work we have given an outline of the political fortunes of ancient Greece. We have seen how the Greeks, although able to organize a city state and to develop political institutions, failed in uniting the smaller republics into one national commonwealth. This was left to the Romans to accomplish. The significance of Greek history, as indeed of the history of any people, lies in what it has contributed to the world's civilization. Hellas, therefore, deserves a special place, as she has been contributor to the development not only of political liberty but also of æsthetic and intellectual culture.

Religious Life.—Religious life in Greece was almost identical with political life. Religion was also the source of art and literature. Greek religion, which bound together the many tribes, was at once universal and local, national and tribal. The ancient Greeks were of an inquisitive turn of mind, and the phenomena of nature called forth their admiration and speculation. They adored nature, but they also personified and animated it, filling the universe with numerous powerful or graceful divinities in human shape and form. In a word, they transformed animism into humanism, and it can truly be said of the Greeks that man created God after his own

image. In the writings of the poet Hesiod the religious conceptions of ancient Greece are still embodied in gross mythologies. Here we find Chaos and Earth and Tartarus. But in the poetical works of Homer Greek divinities are already grouped in a hierarchical family, and the gods take part in the activity of men. Jupiter, or Zeus, is the ruler and sovereign of the gods who dwell on Olympus. He is surrounded by twelve principal gods and goddesses—Juno, his sister and wife; Neptune (Poseidon), god of the seas; Mercury (Hermes), messenger of the gods and protector of commerce; Apollo, the sun-god, or intelligence; Mars (Ares), the god of war; Vulcan (Hephæstus), god of fire; Venus (Aphrodite), goddess of love; Ceres (Demeter), goddess of harvests; Diana (Artemis), goddess of woods; Minerva (Athena), goddess of wisdom; Vesta (Hestia), goddess of home and hearth. They were all supposed to inhabit the Mount Olympus in Thessaly. The ever-young Hebe served them nectar and ambrosia, the drink and food of the gods. Apart from the twelve principal deities there were also Pluto, or Hades, god of wealth and of the nether world; Proserpine, daughter of Ceres and wife of Hades; Bacchus, or Dionysus, god of wine; Pan, chief of the Satyrs and many other lower divinities who peopled the air and the sea. There were also the Nereids, or the nymphs of the ocean, the Sirens, who dwelt on an island, and by their songs attracted the mariners.¹ Charon was the ferryman who conveyed the shades of the dead across the rivers of the lower world. All the gods and goddesses, although immortal, were endowed by the Greek poets with human virtues and passions. The worship of the gods was performed either in the temples or in the houses of the citizens, where altars were erected for private ceremonies. Cities and families had their particular gods and special rituals. Public worship was performed not only in the temples but also in forests, in sacred groves or at sacred springs. Numerous festivals were celebrated in honour of the gods of Hellas. Such festivals were the Panathenæa in Athens, in honour of Minerva, and in which all the inhabitants took part. The oracles and national games also bore a religious character. The Greek religion, both poetic and naturalistic, was not of moral teachings and elevated ideas. It pointed out the vicissitudes of human fortunes, the weakness and nothingness of man.

The Political Life.—Greek political life had a religious character. For religion had so penetrated the Greek mind that it was reflected in the political life of Hellas. Priests were magistrates, and magistrates were priests, and one of the functions of the political chief was

¹ The Moirai, or Fates, were three sisters who span, measured and cut the thread of human life.

the cult of the gods and public worship. Religion was also the principal source whence poets, artists and philosophers drew their inspiration. It was also religion which fostered the union of the family, which in its turn gave rise to the gens, the tribe, and the city. The city-state, one of the principal manifestations of Greek political life, consisted of several tribes who had united—under the protection of a chosen divinity—for the purpose of common protection. On a high hill a fortified place or a citadel was erected, and became the nucleus of a city. The city-state, which arose from the family, was the highest political organization to which the Greeks ever attained, and its process of development may be briefly described as follows: Originally the members of a family lived together under the authority of the father—who was at once the judge and the priest. They were all grouped round the sacred hearth, the centre of domestic life. The different branches of one family formed a clan, or a *genos*, kept together by common worship and the bonds of kinship. They had their special divinities, their rites and festivals, and a common burial-ground. The members of a clan or of several families lived together, and formed the village community. At certain times, especially when threatened by an enemy, the clans grouped themselves round one leader at some fortified place, and such an association was called a fraternity or brotherhood. Several such fraternities or brotherhoods again formed a larger group, known as the tribe, and several tribes, united for the purpose of the common protection of the people, constituted the basis of the city-state. Originally the chief officer of the city-state was the king, who also exercised the functions of priest; to him also belonged the charge of the public sacrifices of the city. He was assisted by the council of chiefs, or the *Boule*. In times of danger the king called together a meeting of all the citizens. Ancient Greece consisted of many such small city-states, and the patriotism of the citizens was limited to the love not of Hellas, but of the city. In time the form of government developed and changed from monarchy into the rule of aristocracy, and from the rule of aristocracy into that of democracy. When monarchy was done away with, the city-state was ruled by the nobles, and this mode of government was known as the Oligarchy. Often, however, one of the nobles would overthrow the oligarchy and usurp the power; such a usurper was called a tyrant. He was not necessarily a despot, but one who had crushed the power of aristocracy. When the rule of the tyrants, however, became oppressive, they were in their turn overthrown, and the people established a democratic government, the body of the citizens taking the power into their own hands.

The Intellectual Life.—Religion was also the chief source of Greek literature and Greek art. The first poetic compositions of ancient

Hellas were hymns, sung in honour and praise of the gods, and the first poets were priests. Orpheus sang sacred songs and charmed the beasts by his melodies. Afterwards the aedes or minstrels related the heroic deeds of Greek heroes; they were the first epic poets, an epic being a narrative poem. Some of these minstrels only recited the poetic compositions of others; they were the rhapsodists, or the weavers of songs. The most famous poems are the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, attributed to the blind poet Homer, who is supposed to have lived in the eleventh century B.C. The *Iliad* relates the events of the Siege of Troy, whilst the *Odyssey* contains the story and the adventures of Odysseus, King of Ithaca. Homer is not only a descriptive poet, but also an historian and a moralist. He loves nature, and his fiction is interwoven with descriptions of the state of Greek society, of the morals, the religion and general ideas of his time. About a century after Homer flourished the poet Hesiod, who made use of poetry for the purpose of general instruction. *Works and Days* and *The Theogony* are his two chief poems. Among the Greek lyric poets we shall mention Pindar, who flourished in the sixth century B.C. From lyric poetry Greek drama arose and was developed.

Drama.—The most famous Greek tragedians were Æschylus (born in 525 B.C.), Sophocles (born in 495), and Euripides (born in 480). It is from the head of Æschylus that Minerva-like Greek drama sprang forth. He wrote *The Seven against Thebes*, *Prometheus Bound*, *Persæ*, and the trilogy of *Oresteia*. Sophocles composed about one hundred plays, the most famous of these being his *Œdipus the King*. Euripides was born at Salamis. He wrote many plays, eighteen of which have come down to us, such as *Alcestis*, *Medea*, and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. These three Greek tragedians have inspired the best dramatic authors of all ages and all countries. Æschylus excited terror, Sophocles admiration, and Euripides pity. All the three developed and enhanced the poetical beauty of the language of Greece. The greatest Greek comedian was Aristophanes. In his celebrated comedies he criticized Greek political and social life, and held up to ridicule many of his contemporaries. *Clouds*, *Wasps*, *Frogs*, are some of his famous comedies.

Prose writings arose in Greece much later than poetry, and became more frequent when papyrus was introduced from Egypt. Among Greek prose writers the most famous are the historians Herodotus, the father of history, born at Halicarnassus in 484; Thucydides, born in Attica in 471, and Xenophon, born in 445. The history of Thucydides is more analytical and philosophical than that of Herodotus. Xenophon, a disciple of Socrates, led the retreat of the ten thousand, and related the campaign in his *Anabasis*. He also left us *Recollections of Socrates*.

Oratory, or the art of words, was also practised in Greece, and in philosophy the ancient Greeks are still considered as the acknowledged teachers of posterity. It was in the Periclean age that the most famous Greek philosopher flourished. Socrates, the son of a sculptor, was born in 469, and for some time exercised his father's profession. Soon, however, he abandoned it in order to devote his time to philosophical speculation. His method consisted in walking about in the streets of Athens and freely conversing with his fellow citizens, explaining to them his ideas on religion and morality.

Although Socrates had always shown respect to the religious ceremonies of his native city, he was nevertheless accused of blasphemy, of teaching a new religion, and of corrupting the young generation. He was tried, found guilty, and condemned to death in 399. In accordance with the custom of the day he was sentenced to drink the cup of poison. Among his disciples the most famous are Plato (427-347) and Xenophon (434-355). Plato, whose Philosophy is essentially the Philosophy of the Beautiful, exposed his doctrines in his famous *Dialogues*. Plato's disciple Aristotle (384-322), the teacher of Alexander the Great, dominated the intellectual world of the Alexandrian Age.

ART, ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, PAINTING

The artistic temperament of the Greek race, that temperament which is blended together from the grave and severe spirit of the Dorian, and the graceful and imaginative of the Ionian, was instrumental in producing the splendid art of Greece. It came into existence in an atmosphere of harmony and beauty, and was fostered and developed under especially favourable circumstances, such as a pleasant climate, a healthy open-air life, a religion free from restrictions and full of the joy of life. The artistic movement, which coming from Asia soon took wings on the soil of Hellas, was inaugurated with architecture, and the most beautiful temples erected to the Olympian gods were the result. The famous temple of Ephesus was destroyed by fire, but Athens saw, within her walls, during the age of Pericles, the most wonderful monuments. Such were the Acropolis with its grandiose vestibule, the Propylæa, and, above all, the Parthenon, constructed under the direction of the famous artist Phidias, son of Charmides.

Sculpture.—Painter, architect, and sculptor, Phidias personified the artistic genius of Greece. He was the sculptor of the gods, whilst his contemporaries Polycletus and Myron were the sculptors of men. Praxiteles, who lived in the fourth century B.C., and who was the creator of the beautiful statues of Aphrodite, may be styled the

sculptor of female grace. The "Victory of Samothrace" and the "Venus of Milo" belong to the fourth century.

Painting.—The great painter of Hellas of the fifth century B.C. was Polygnotus, but it was the fourth century which witnessed the apotheosis of Greek painting with Zeuxis, and Apelles, surnamed the Raphael of antiquity, the favourite painter of Alexander the Great.

HELLENISM

We have seen how after the death of Alexander the Great the Macedonian Empire crumbled to pieces. The work of civilization, however, begun by the Conqueror, continued even after his death. He had bridged the gulf dividing the Occident and the Orient, and Greek culture and civilization, passing beyond the boundaries of their national domain, crossed this bridge and spread over the Asiatic world. Alexandria, the city he had founded on the banks of the Nile, became the centre not only of international commerce, but of culture, and soon took the place of Athens as the intellectual capital of the world. Alexander had carried Greek civilization into the East, where it was fused into one with the civilizations of Asia. Occidentalism, or Greek culture, came into contact with Orientalism. The Greek and oriental spirits met and mingled, producing doctrines and religious systems containing germs of tradition and science, of inspiration and reflection. The Greeks, hitherto isolated, now made the acquaintance of the oriental world, of Eastern ideas and customs; and whilst influencing the East, Greece was in her turn influenced. The brilliant qualities of the Greek, his subtlety of intelligence and sagacity, were vivified by the oriental spark; whilst the contemplative, mystically-inclined Eastern dreamer learned logical analysis and facility of expression from the Greeks. This fusion gave rise to new religious doctrines and philosophical systems. It was this Hellenistic civilization which the Romans, when they became the masters of Hellas and of the East, afterwards adopted.

ROMAN CIVILIZATION

The cradle of ancient civilization stood on the mystic and mysterious soil of the East, within the dominions of the great oriental empires, but excessive love of luxury and corrupted morals soon put a stop to a further development of Eastern civilization. The Greeks then realized an admirable progress and accumulated the vast store of that splendid Hellenic culture, upon the crumbs of which the modern world is still feeding. But the Greeks, unable to establish a national unity, failed in their political institutions—and thus could not exercise a direct influence upon the outside world. This task

was reserved for the Roman genius. The Romans became the real agents in the work of universal progress. The Roman civilization, an amalgamation of various elements, Eastern and Western, Hellenic and Etruscan, spread over the European world, and there is hardly a modern nation which has not borrowed some institution, political, social, or legislative from the Romans. And in many respects the Church and Christianity have been the inheritors of the culture accumulated by Rome.

Religious Life.—The Romans, unlike the Greeks, who were dreamers and poets, were a practical people, and we may add, a people attaching importance to formalities. For them it was sufficient to observe the law outwardly without bothering about the spirit or the moral idea underlying it. The religious duty of the Roman consisted, therefore, in the observation of certain rites and sacrifices; and in exchange for these performances the gods—moral questions apart—owed him protection and help. It was a question of give and take. A Roman offered his sacrifices to the god, and felt himself entitled to obtain the fulfilment of his wish; otherwise he indignantly accused the god of having cheated him, and accepted the sacrifice under false pretences. It is interesting to notice that even nowadays the Italian peasant insults his saints who have failed to grant his request. The Romans, like the Greeks, firmly believed that all manifestations of nature were the work of some divinity, and in each natural phenomenon they therefore saw a separate divinity. Each divinity had each its name, its functions and its sex. But different from the gods of Hellas those of Rome had no fixed abode, no family and no history, or rather no past. They were simply manifestations. The Roman did not attribute human shape and form to his gods. All he knew about them was that each god commanded a force of nature and had the power to do harm or be kind unto man. The Romans therefore rather feared than loved their gods. They prayed unto the unknown, mysterious powers and offered them sacrifices so as to propitiate them and obtain their favour. They built them temples and brought them offerings consisting of fruit and wine and animals. The idea of prayer was not to commune with a divine power but to ask of it some favour. It was therefore important for the Roman to know exactly to which divinity he had to address himself in order to obtain a certain service and the accomplishment of a particular wish. It was useless to go to a god who had no authority in that matter. The principal Roman divinities were Jupiter, god of the heavens; Janus, who was two-headed; Mars, god of war; Mercury, god of commerce and business; Vulcan, god of fire; Neptune, god of the sea; Ceres, the goddess of harvests; the Earth; the Moon; Juno, and Minerva.

There were also minor gods, goddesses and godlings. They either personified some quality such as youth, peace, etc., or presided over a certain action in life. Some gods were supposed to protect a city, or a locality, a mountain or a forest; and even every tree had its particular little god. There were so many gods in Rome that it was easier, as people said, to meet a god than a man. The Romans, like the Greeks, believed in auguries. The gods who knew the future, often communicated their knowledge to men by means of certain signs. The priests who could interpret those signs were known as *augures*, and the Sibylline books contained a record of such prophecies. The Roman Republic kept six such augures whose function consisted in foretelling the future. Like the Greeks the Romans believed in the immortality of the soul. If the body had been properly buried the soul became a god, otherwise it would return and worry the living. It was therefore of paramount importance that the burial rites were properly observed, so that the souls of the departed could become gods; as such they were known as *Mânes*. These souls now turned into gods did their best to protect their descendants, and each family had a number of such protecting family divinities, who were called *lares* or *penates*.

The Roman religion bore a national character, and the priests were public magistrates elected by the city, taking an active part in the political life of the state. The Pontiffs, instead of the ecclesiastical character of modern priests, were state officials, and united in their persons the functions of a politician or of an army general. The Roman cult gave rise to various processions which finished with public games and popular festivals. Such festivals were the Lupercalia, the Saturnalia, the Bacchanalia, in honour of the god Bacchus, which afterwards degenerated into real orgies. When Rome had started her conquest of the world she became acquainted with Hellas and the Orient, and the Roman religion underwent a change. Greek and oriental influences made themselves felt, and Hellenistic and Syrian gods competed with the ancient divinities of Rome. The Romans adopted the customs and religious beliefs of the conquered nations, and the transformation which began in the middle of the third century B.C. continued until the end of the Empire.

The Family.—The Roman family was practically a religious institution. The members of a family gathered round the same domestic hearth and had in common the worship of the domestic gods or the lares. Each family had a separate cult to which no stranger was admitted. Marriage therefore was in ancient Rome a religious institution, as religion commanded the Romans not to let the family come to an end. The wife's duty was to bear children to her husband. She was not treated as a slave, but she always had

a master, at first the father and after marriage the husband. The children were the property of the father, the *paterfamilias* who was the absolute and undisputed master of his family. After the death of the father the son became in his turn *paterfamilias*, whilst the mother remained dependent upon her own son.

Political Life and Institutions.—During the Republic the government of Rome was vested in the nation, who was the real sovereign. The nation consisted not of all the inhabitants on Roman soil, but of all those who were possessed of the right of city and were known as citizens. The assembly of citizens elected the magistrates, voted upon questions of peace and war, and made laws. They assembled either on the market place (*forum*) or on a military camp, and voted in groups or *comitia* (*comitia curiata* and *comitia centuriata*).

But whilst the people of Rome ruled, or was supposed to rule, it was the Senate who governed. The Senate consisted of 300 citizens. The principal organs therefore of the Roman constitution during the Republic were the Senate, the assemblies of the people, and the various magistrates.

The Senate had charge of the home and foreign policy of the Republic. The Senators also had control over the religion and the finances of the State. The assemblies of the people were either *centuriata*, according to classes, or *tributa*, according to tribes.

When the new régime was established by Augustus the sovereign power was vested in the Emperor, Imperator, or he who commands. He was surnamed Augustus, the Venerable.

The *prætorians* formed the military escort of the Emperor, but the prefect of the *prætorians* often was more powerful than the Emperor himself. All the ancient offices of the magistrates which had existed during the Republic were not abolished, but their powers were restricted. They were only representatives of the Emperor and depended upon him. Augustus had divided the Roman provinces into imperial and senatorial. The imperial provinces were governed by officers appointed by the Emperor himself, and bore the title either of legates or procurators, whilst the senate nominated the governors for the senatorial provinces. The latter were known as *proconsuls*.

The Roman Empire, however, was far from being a centralized State. The various cities therefore administered themselves, and municipal life developed itself quite freely. They were controlled by Rome, and the Emperor had a right to interfere in their home affairs, but as a rule he rarely exercised this right.

Intellectual Life—Literature, Art, Philosophy.—The Romans were not gifted with that lively imagination and artistic temperament which distinguished the Greeks. And whilst Rome excelled in political and legal institutions she had to go to Greece for philosophy,

literature and art. It was therefore only when the Romans were brought into closer relations with the Greeks of Southern Italy and Sicily that they began to develop—under the influence of Hellas—a literature of their own.

Among the earliest Roman poets were Livius Andronicus, a Greek slave who was brought to Rome after the capture of Tarentum (272), and who translated the *Odyssey* into Latin verse. The greatest comic and dramatic writer in Rome was Plautus (died in 184 B.C.), many of whose comedies, such as the *Miles Gloriosus*, *Menæchmi*, and *Pseudolus* have come down to us. Another great playwright was Terence (who died about 160 B.C.).

The greatest literary representative of Rome towards the end of the Republic was Cicero, the greatest of Roman orators and the creator of an artistic prose. His speeches and letters which have come down to us are still considered as models of style. Other writers of that period were Julius Cæsar, Sallust, Lucretius and Catullus. But the most brilliant period of Roman literature was the age of Augustus. It was the age of the poets Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), and Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.), and of the great historian Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D.).

Later Roman writers are Martial (40–104 A.D.) the creator of the *epigram*; the historian Tacitus, who lived during the reigns of Nero, Vespasian and Titus; and the famous satirist Juvenal.

Philosophy.—As regards Philosophy, the Romans had no conception of and no appreciation for purely theoretical problems. They demanded practical lessons, and with them philosophical investigations served as a guide of life. The conduct of life became the fundamental problem of Roman philosophy. It aimed at finding a complete art of living, and had a thoroughly ethical stamp. Philosophy in Rome became the rival of, and opposed to religion, and endeavoured to occupy the place left vacant by the decay of the national religion. Among the Roman philosophical writers we shall mention Seneca and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Art.—Just as Roman literature, so Roman art was inspired by the Greeks, and Roman statues and paintings are copied from Greek productions, and are less elegant and less harmonious than their Hellenic models. The branch of art, however, in which the Romans excelled, and which assumed a national character, was architecture. The numerous ruins still bear witness to the magnificence of Roman architectural works. The superiority of the Romans is due to their knowledge of the arch, of which the Greeks seem to have been ignorant. This process enabled the Romans to construct much vaster and more varied edifices than had been attempted by the Greeks. Such were the temples, the basilicas, the circus, amphi-

theatres, arenas, aqueducts and baths. The Pantheon, the Colosseum, the Forum of Augustus, the Forum of Trajan, the Temple of Peace, the Capitol with the temple of Jupiter were some of the great structures of Rome. It was especially during the reign of Augustus that Rome saw the erection of many monuments in marble, and that Augustus could truly boast that he had found a city of bricks but left behind a city of marble.

Chapter XII

MEDIÆVAL CIVILIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS

The Fusion of Roman and Teutonic Elements—The Political Life—Knights—Tournaments—The Religious Life—Monasticism—The Social Life—The Third Estate—The Hanseatic League—The Economic Life—Guilds—The Intellectual Life—Scholasticism—Literature—Poetry—Science—The Renaissance.

IN Part II we have rapidly sketched the political fortunes of the Middle Ages, showing how the Empire fell under the sway of the barbarians and how the new races replaced the ancient Roman populations. Three especially divided among themselves Central and Eastern Europe ; they were the Germans, the Slavs and the Tartars. For a long time the Slavs remained in the background—and only towards the beginning of modern times did they form into the nations inhabiting Eastern and part of Central Europe. The race, however, which took the most active and prominent part in the destruction of the Roman world power was the German or Teutonic. On the ruins of the Empire the Germans established new kingdoms, those of the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Vandals and the Franks. The Huns, a wild and savage tribe, were driven back and the Ostrogoths established themselves in Italy, where they were succeeded by the Lombards. Great Britain, too, in spite of her isolated position, was invaded, and we have already witnessed the rise of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. We then saw how Charlemagne succeeded in re-establishing for a while the ancient Empire, but his idea of a central power failed during the reign of his successors. The Carlovingian Empire was broken up and feudalism triumphed. The feudal lords or great land proprietors were petty sovereigns in their domains. During this period Europe was in a state of anarchy and disorder, but out of this chaos the European nations gradually arose and strong monarchies were established. We have also seen how the Church, which was instrumental in checking disorder and establishing discipline, acquired great influence, until its power was weakened at the beginning of the Renaissance.

But the political fortunes of Europe do not alone constitute the history of the Middle Ages—and it will now be our task to give a

brief survey of the civilization of mediæval times. We have defined the idea of civilization when speaking of Greece, and we have shown what a great and noble civilization Hellas had accumulated, handing it down to Rome, her successor. The Romans created nothing new except the science of law and militarism. For if Greece had the genius of art, Rome possessed that of legislation and diplomacy. The Greeks were artists, dreamers, reasoners and thinkers, whilst the Romans were soldiers and politicians. Towards the fourth century great changes took place in the Roman Empire. The administration was reorganized, Christianity triumphed and became the State religion under Constantine the Great. The capital was transferred to Constantinople, the separation of the Empire was prepared and the invasion of the barbarians facilitated. And indeed, soon the German tribes, driven onward by more savage hordes, invaded the civilized world, burned towns and cities, destroyed monuments and treasures. The art and science, the literature and philosophy, the law and order, the practical skill which Greece and Rome had accumulated seemed lost for ever. For several centuries Europe was plunged into a state of chaos and darkness, and every intellectual activity came to a standstill. Luckily, however, the invaders did not destroy everything, and many things which they found in the conquered lands they respected, till a time came when they were able to appreciate them; when having arrived at an age of maturity and intellectual development, they gratefully made use of them. Although uncivilized, the conquering barbarians were not exactly savages; they had natural intelligence, combined with their youthful strength and vigour, which in time developed and gained in mental activity and understanding. For a while, however, these invaders were busy conquering and destroying. Art and science perished, Greek and Latin were forgotten, commerce and industry were neglected and declined; brutal force reigned supreme. Europe was plunged in darkness, and this period, extending over a few centuries, is known as that of the Dark Ages. But gradually the barbarians rose to the level of the conquered race. The Germans can boast of a good characteristic. They are never ashamed to learn from others, when once convinced of the necessity of learning, and even in modern times this quality gives Germany a superiority over France. So it was when the barbarians conquered Rome. Gradually and slowly the Teutons began to study and understand the institutions of the ancient world, to assimilate the traditions of Greece, Rome, and Christianity, and to work them out in their own way. The process was a slow one, and as long as it lasted, mediæval Europe was in a state of transition.

Every period of transition is marked by the same characteristics. We see a heap of ruins and accumulated material out of which new

structures arise. So it happened in mediæval Europe. Out of the ruins and *débris* of the ancient Roman civilization and the rough material which the conquerors had brought with them, the modern structures arose. During the transition and assimilation period European society underwent a slow and gradual change, politically, socially, economically and intellectually, and out of the fusion of Roman and Teutonic elements new institutions known as Mediæval arose.

These institutions, however, whether affecting the political, social, religious, economic or intellectual life, bear a distinct mark. We have shown how out of the flood of barbarian invasions, which for a time had swept away the civilizations of Hellas and Rome, two powers had emerged—Papacy and the Empire, to which the men of the Middle Ages looked up with respect and awe, mingled with superstition. It was natural, therefore, that the institutions which regulated the life and thought of mediæval European humanity should be influenced by one of these two forces, Church or Empire. The Church especially knew how to preserve her unity during the period of conflict and of the subsequent fusion of Roman and Teutonic elements. The Church became the intermediary between the Roman and barbarian, and helped to bring about the final amalgamation of the races. And whilst the rivalry between Papacy and Empire gave rise to the development of the national spirit, to the rise and growth of towns and cities, the art, science and literature of the Middle Ages were distinctly ecclesiastical in character, and even commerce and industry received a new stimulus from the Crusades, which were pre-eminently a religious movement.

Let us now briefly glance at some of the mediæval institutions affecting the political, religious, social, economic and intellectual life of the Middle Ages.

The Political Life.—Politically the Middle Ages were the age of feudalism, of Empire and Papacy, of the rise of national government. We have explained feudalism above. One of the institutions which were the outgrowth of feudalism and which received a special impetus during the Crusades was that of chivalry. Its origin is to be found in the customs of the ancient Germans and the ceremonies which accompanied the admission of the youth into the ranks of the warriors, a distinct class of which was formed in Europe and known as knights, who fought on horseback. But whilst at the outset knighthood was linked with feudalism and a knight was necessarily a landowner, knighthood became, in the thirteenth century, a mark of personal distinction and a reward for brave deeds. The obligations of knighthood were loyalty, courtesy, and above all gallantry, devotion and protection of women, courage and honour.

The favourite amusement of the chivalric Middle Ages were knightly games or *tournaments*, simulated battles between two companies of knights. A maiden of noble birth presented the victor with a prize. During the Crusades knighthood and chivalry reached the height of development and became imbued with a religious spirit. The two military religious orders of the Templars and Hospitalers were founded in the interval between the first and second Crusades.

The Religious Life—Monasticism.—Monasticism, or monachism, a life of religious retirement—originated in the East, where a life of seclusion and retirement from the world was considered more meritorious than one spent in activity. In the third century the Egyptian ascetic St. Anthony gathered round him many of these monachi or anchorites, and his disciple Pachomius of the Thebaid built a monastery or cloister where the monks were to live in fellowship. The three essential vows of the monks were those of chastity, poverty and obedience. Monasticism soon became to be considered by the men of the Middle Ages as the holiest mode of life. From the East monasticism travelled to the West, and we see the first monastery of Monte Cassino, near Naples, established by St. Benedict of Nurisa (480–543), who founded the order of the Benedictines. During the Dark Ages the cloisters offered refuge and shelter to many fleeing from persecution, and the monks rendered great service to civilization. In the tenth century the monastery of Cluny separated itself from the Benedictine orders and introduced a more rigid discipline and more ascetic ideal. Another monastic order was that of the Cistercians, founded at Cîteaux (in Burgundy) in 1099. One of the most famous members of the order was Bernard of Clairvaux. The order of the Carthusians was established at Carthusa (or Chartreuse) near Grenoble in the year 1084. In the thirteenth century the so-called mendicant orders were established. St. Francis of Assisi (1226) gave up his worldly possessions, and, clothed in rags, wandered through the world, begging and preaching repentance. He was followed by many disciples and founded the order of the Franciscans, or Minorites. At the same time Dominic Guzman a Spaniard by birth, founded the order of the Dominicans, whose chief aim was to maintain the Catholic faith in its purity, and to destroy heresy. It was to the Dominicans that the Inquisition and the examinations of heretics were afterwards entrusted.

The Social Life—The Third Estate—The Rise of Towns.—During the Dark Ages, and especially when feudalism was at its height, European society knew only two classes, the nobles and the peasantry. Feudalism knew only the suzerain and the vassal. The mass of the people, the producers of wealth, were in a state of

quasi-serfdom. They were the workers, the tillers of the ground, the artisans. The villagers, or villains, although somewhat above the serfs, were also subjected to the will of the suzerain. But as the lords were in the constant habit of exacting money from the villains, the latter at last revolted. By and by in the course of the eleventh century, as industry and commerce increased and wealth was created, the burghers manifested a spirit of independence. The cities obtained charters of liberties from their suzerains, and laid the foundation of municipal freedom.

The Hanseatic League.—The cities also sought to protect their interests against the feudal laws and against pirates, by means of unions among themselves. One of these unions was the Hanseatic League, formed by the cities of Northern Germany (in 1241), and very powerful for some generations.

The Economic Life—Guilds.—After the Crusades commerce and industry, which had been interrupted during the barbarian invasions, received a new stimulus and gradually improved. The roads were bad and there were no bridges, but in a measure as common interests increased, intercommunication and exchange were facilitated, commerce and industry extended. With the growth of commerce cities began to rise. Money became less scarce, gold came into circulation and transactions were easier. New industries had been introduced from the East, and an industrial activity was displayed in the towns, which became the workshops of mediæval Europe. The merchants and artisans who were desirous to gain more influence formed associations, enabling them to oppose the feudal lords. Such associations of merchants and artisans were known as merchant guilds, and corporations, or craft guilds. The former consisted of the traders, whilst the latter were associations of workmen formed for the purpose of guarding the interests of their particular industry, and with a view to mutual help for themselves, their wives and children. Each corporation had its special rules, patron saints, festivals and treasury.

The Intellectual Life.—If the commercial and economic life of mediæval Europe had come to a standstill during the earlier Middle Ages, still more so had it been the case with regard to the intellectual life. Men were too engrossed in war and violence to care for thought and learning. For centuries ignorance and rudeness replaced the culture and civilization, the erudition and refinement which characterized the intellectual centres of the Græco-Roman world. The conquests of the Hellenic spirit would have been hopelessly lost to posterity, had not a few Christian scholars, in actual opposition to the general attitude of the Church, saved the *débris* of an ancient civilization, and preserved them for better days.

At the same time, though the Church saved many literary and artistic treasures of the ancient world, and kept alight the torch of learning, it looked upon the classical inheritance, upon letters and art, as dangerous, on account of the heathenism contained in them. As a whole, therefore, the Church was against the cultivation of Greek and Roman literature, and defined the limits within which thought could move; for since the Church possessed the truth by an infallible revelation, it could not consistently allow others to search for it. The respect for learning, therefore, which existed in the monasteries, and which caused them to save something of the philosophy of antiquity, was strictly limited to that portion of the intellectual content of the ancient civilization which had been taken up into the doctrine of the Christian Church. During the Middle Ages philosophy became the handmaid of theology. The entire course of evolution of Christian mediæval philosophy is generally divided into two great periods. The first begins with the Fathers of the Church, ending with St. Augustine; the second extends from the ninth to the fifteenth century, and is termed the Scholastic period, so called because the whole work was done in the schools of the monasteries by the monks. The word scholasticism is derived from the Latin *scholasticus* (master of a school). Charlemagne had founded such in connection with the cathedrals, and the teachers were termed *doctores scholastici*. Scholasticism was not a fixed doctrine, but a very indefinite name which comprehended the philosophic endeavours of Christendom for the greater part of a thousand years. It was the philosophy of mediæval Europe developing within the Church in the form of theology. Scholasticism formed an alliance between philosophy and theology, and reconciled the spheres of reason and faith, grace and nature, hitherto considered as antagonistic. The founder of scholasticism was Scotus Erigena, and its most distinguished representatives were St. Anselm, Abelard, St. Thomas and Duns Scotus. At first scholasticism was influenced by Platonism; from the thirteenth century, however, it gradually became subjected to the influence of the doctrines of Aristotle. But whilst the speculation of the Fathers was the outcome of classical antiquity, scholasticism sprang from the soil of the Germanic and Neo-Latin world. In the latter Middle Ages, however, thought was no longer limited to the monasteries. The Crusades had awakened the mind of Europe. Acquaintance with the Arabic civilization in Spain quickened the thirst for knowledge. The result was the transfer of the seats of learning from the monasteries and bishoprics to large municipal centres. Universities grew up. They were practically vast organizations consisting of a crowd of pupils eager to learn, gathered round a well-known lecturer. Such

Universities were Bologna in Italy, Paris, Salerno, and Oxford. Bologna was renowned for the study of law, Salerno for medicine, and Paris for theology.

But the renewed interest in intellectual life also found its expression in literature and art, in epic and romance, in architecture, sculpture, music and painting.

Whilst the clergy wrote and discussed in Latin, the laity of the Middle Ages used another tongue. Many of the invaders of the Roman Empire had adhered to their native German dialects, and from these dialects the modern languages such as German, English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian are derived.

In other parts of the Empire the barbarians adopted the speech of the conquered race, Latin, but as they paid little attention to grammar and elegance a group of new languages was gradually formed from the Latin.

In England three languages were used, Latin, Norman and Saxon, whilst in France we find the langue d'oïl in the north, and the langue d'oc in the south. In some of these languages literature, especially during and after the Crusades, soon began to find a voice. But whilst learned literature and science were mostly cultivated by the monks, poetry was at first cultivated by the knights and then by the laity in general. The chivalric spirit awakened by the Crusades also led to a similarity of the poetry of the Middle Ages, both in matter and form. Mediæval poetry was either Heroic (romance), describing the chivalric adventures and love affairs of the knights; religious, consisting of praises of God, or the histories of saints, or epic, dealing with cycles of legends. Among the most famous poems are, *The Song of Roland*, probably written before the first crusade, and describing the battle of Roncesvaux and the death of Roland; the *Romances of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table*, which belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most famous German heroic poem is the *Nibelungenlied* (1200). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the lyric poets also flourished. They made the feelings of love the chief subject of their songs, which were sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. These poets were called in France the *Troubadours* or *trouveurs*, and in Germany *Minnesinger*, from Minne (love). One of the best-renowned literary productions of mediæval Spain is the poem of *The Cid*, inspired by the struggle between Moors and Christians. In Italy Dante Aleghieri of Florence (1265-1321) confirmed the vernacular of his country and its poetical beauty in the famous poem, *The Divina Commedia*. Dante is considered the great Christian poet of the Middle Ages. As regards the science of the Middle Ages it was still in its infancy, and remained for a long time in the hands of

the clergy. It was chiefly alchemy and the search for the "philosopher's stone," which was supposed to enable man to turn other metals into gold, that occupied the learned of mediæval Europe. As for sculpture and architecture, which found their expression in the great mediæval cathedrals and churches, painting, which consisted in the illustration of books (illuminations), and music, they were chiefly religious, but they nevertheless showed unmistakable signs of the appreciation of the beautiful which was soon to reach a high degree of development during the Renaissance.

The Renaissance.—The human mind, for a long time asleep in the shadow of the Middle Ages, had its awaking during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This period is known as the Renaissance. The revolution was particularly felt in Italy and France—the other European nations were, so to speak, the pupils of France and Italy. The historian cannot omit a short study of so important an episode in the history of civilization.

Causes of the Renaissance.—From the end of the fifteenth century, but above all during the sixteenth, in consequence of intellectual progress, the human mind began to free itself from the bonds which had so long held it captive. Disdaining the narrow science of the Middle Ages, and the education of the Universities, certain men, enamoured of study began to go back to ancient sources, to the works of the Greeks and the Romans, lived the life of their favourite authors, sought from them inspirations and endeavoured to reproduce some of the beauty to which they rendered homage. The generosity of the princes encouraged *savants* in their researches and artists in their intelligent imitation of the antique. At the same time, Greek scholars, driven from Constantinople by the Mohammedan invasion, brought to Europe, and particularly to Italy, the literature of ancient civilization, including certain works still unknown to the West. But nothing contributed more to the progress of science and letters, and to the rapid growth of the Renaissance, than the invention of printing, which, from the year 1450, reducing the price of books, infinitely multiplied their number, made the light of science to penetrate everywhere and developed, to an extent hitherto unknown, the spirit of research.

The Italian Renaissance—Literary Paganism.—Italy had suffered less than the rest of Europe from barbaric invasions. Roman literature had been more carefully preserved, witness the masterpieces of Dante, of Petrarch, and Boccaccio, written more than a century before the Renaissance. Further, in no other country, had the cult of antiquity more fervent disciples. The Popes especially were the enlightened protectors of scholars and artists. Nicholas V founded the Library of the Vatican; Julius II was wont to say that *belles-*

lettres are silver for the people, gold for the nobility, and diamonds for princes ; whilst Leo X certainly merited the honour of having his name bestowed upon the century of the Renaissance.

Alfonso X, the Magnanimous, king of Naples, only asked as a peace offering from the Florentines a copy of the words of Titus-Livius. The Medicis celebrated the feast of Plato as that of a glorious ancestor.

The cult of antiquity was even exaggerated to the point of giving birth to a sort of literary paganism. Certainly scholars, sometimes princes of the Church, went so far as to forget, at all events outwardly, the respect due to Christian dogmas. One Cardinal, it is said, declared that he did not read the Epistles of Saint Paul for fear of spoiling his style.

Letters in Italy—Ariosto—Machiavelli—Tasso.—In consequence of this craze for antiquity, many writers from thenceforth composed their works in Latin. Among these were the Cardinal Beinbo, whose style has quite a Ciceronian purity and elegance ; and Vida, whose Latin poetry was long the delight of men of letters. But side by side with this imitative literature, the national poets produced masterpieces that were more justly popular. Ariosto (1476-1536), is the author of *Rolando Furioso*, and Machiavelli (1469-1527) in his book of the *Prince* sets forth with singular vigour that odious form of statecraft which considers success as the only aim of government. The hero of Machiavelli's "Prince"—Cæsar Borgia—is a typical example of the clever, utterly unscrupulous statesman ; thus it is that the name of "Machiavelism" is used to indicate that pursuit of success at any price—without regard to any sense of morality or of right and wrong. Two other works of Machiavelli, his *Reflections on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, and his *History of Florence* bear witness to his learning and to the soundness of his historical criticism. The Italians honour him, moreover, as a great patriot. And he did indeed love Italy—passionately, and longed to deliver it from the foreign yoke. Tasso (1544-1595) who took Homer and Virgil as his models, wrote *Jerusalem Delivered*, one of the most popular of modern epic poems.

Architecture.—The traditions of ancient art had not ceased to inspire the Italian architects of the Middle Ages ; the Gothic style never really flourished beyond the Alps. Nevertheless, it was not until the fourteenth century that Italian architecture returned to the masterly symmetry of Greek art. The first to substitute the pointed arches and straight lines of the Greek temples for the elaborate Gothic lines was the Florentine Brunelleschi (1375-1444), and he combined the methods of antique art with those of the art of the Middle Ages. He was really the creator of the Renaissance style.

Bramante, Raphael's uncle, still further perfected the new architecture; by order of Julius II he joined the Belvedere to the Palace of the Vatican and commenced the building of St. Peter's.

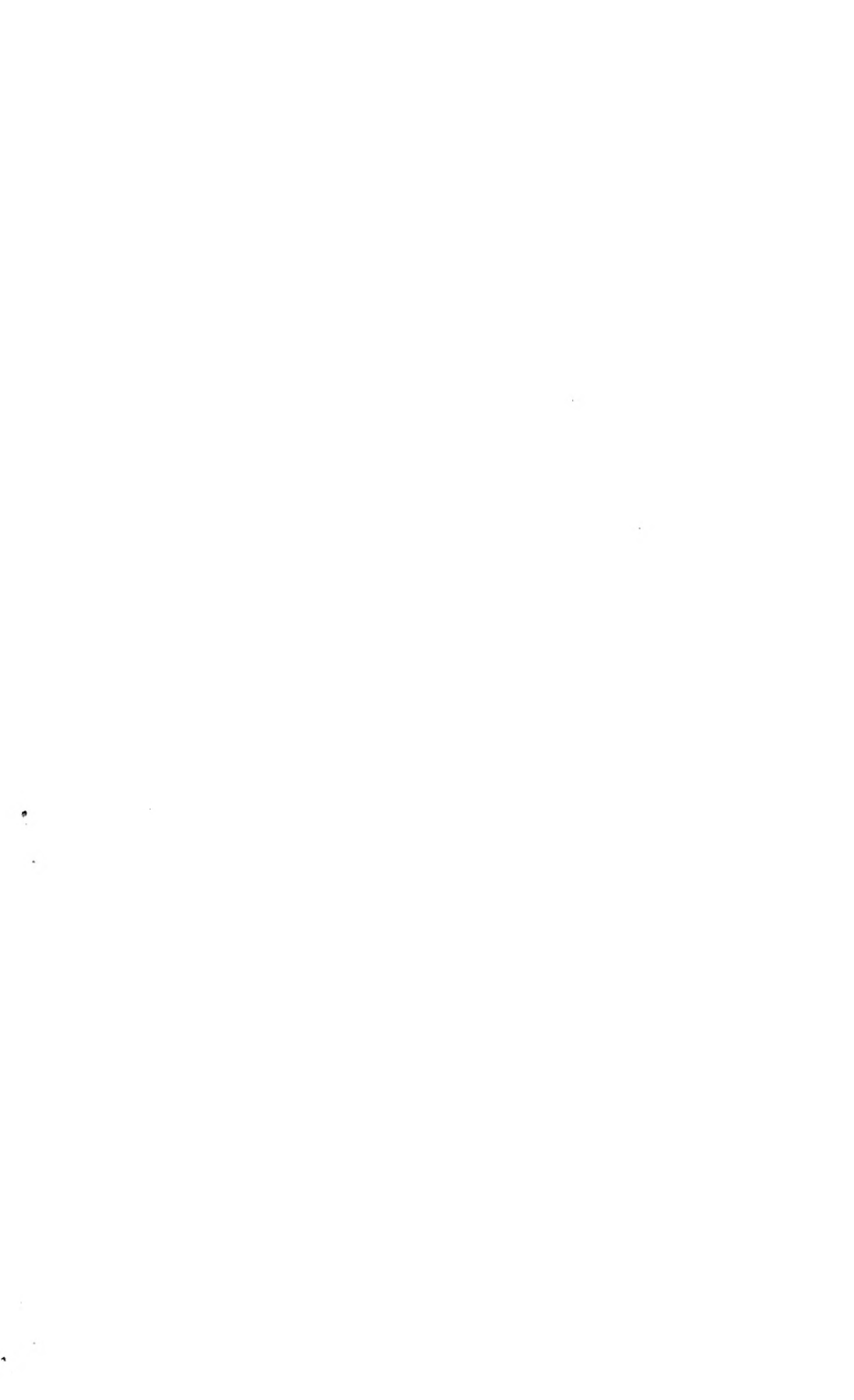
Sculpture.—The sculptors of the Renaissance separated themselves more completely from their predecessors; renouncing the historic and traditional forms of the Middle Ages, they were inspired by the masterpieces of antique art, and they studied nature. Their works, instinct with truth and life, are in striking contrast to the conventional productions of the preceding centuries. Donatello's statue of St. Mark was so wonderfully lifelike that Michael Angelo, after standing long in contemplation before it, is said to have cried out in an access of religious exaltation: "Mark, why do you not speak to me?" Benevenuto Cellini (1500–1570) raised ornamental sculpture to the height of perfection. Silversmith and sculptor about the same time, from his infinitely delicate fingers came cups, basins, swordhilts and daggers. He also made the beautiful crucifix in the Pitti Palace, in Florence.

Painting.—The artists of the Renaissance, inferior to the ancients in architecture and barely their equals in sculpture, are incontestably their superiors in painting. Already Giotto, the friend and contemporary of Dante (1276–1336), by the expression and perfection of design, was a distinguished member of the Byzantine School. After the invention of oil painting by the brothers Van Eyck, of Bruges (1370–1450) art decidedly soared to greater heights, and masterpieces multiplied. Then it was that the great Italian Schools were formed: the Naturalist School of Florence, in which the works of Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto and Michael Angelo are included: the Umbrian School, religious and spiritualist, of which Perugini, the master of Raphael, is the most glorious representative.

Thus the literary and artistic spirit of antiquity, plunged into a lethargic sleep and awakened, like an enchanted princess, by the kiss of the Italian poets, began its triumphant march over Europe

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